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1869.

V. H. Harvel

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HORATIUS RESTITUTUS:

OR

THE BOOKS OF

HORACE

ARRANGED

IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

ACCORDING TO THE SCHEME OF DR. BENTLEY,

FROM THE TEXT OF GESNER, CORRECTED AND IMPROVED.

WITH

A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION,

VERY MUCH ENLARGED,

ON

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORKS, ON THE LOCALITIES, AND ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THAT POET.

BY JAMES TATE, M.A.

SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED,

AN ORIGINAL

TREATISE ON THE METRES OF HORACE.

LONDON:
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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL GREY,

WHOSE UNWEARIED SERVICES,

AS AN ENLIGHTENED AND PATRIOTIC STATESMAN,

AND AT LENGTH UNEXAMPLED SUCCESS,

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF AN APPROVING SOVEREIGN,

AS A WISE AND TEMPERATE REFORMER,

WILL FIND AN IMPERISHABLE RECORD IN THE MEMORY OF HIS GRATEFUL COUNTRYMEN,

THIS EDITION OF

HORATIUS RESTITUTUS

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

TO COMMEMORATE ONE OF THE NOBLEST AND KINDEST ACTS OF PATRONAGE EVER CONFERRED,

AND TO TESTIFY AT ONCE THE PRIVATE GRATITUDE,

AND ON PUBLIC GROUNDS THE SINCERE VENERATION,

OF HIS LORDSHIP'S

MOST OBLIGED AND DEVOTED SERVANT,

JAMES TATE.

RESIDENTIARY HOUSE, ST. PAUL'S,
August 1, 1837.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

In the Dissertation here prefixed to this Book of *Horatius Restitutus*, I am duly sensible, that the idea may arise of something irregular and desultory in the composition of it. Let me candidly own, that I should have been very happy to meet the expectation of my readers with a performance more regular and systematic, if the peculiarity of the subject had more readily allowed me so to do.

According to my own impressions, first of all, that subject itself was so extensive at once and full of variety, that with a little elegant diffusion, (which in its occasional use I am far from disparaging,) the materials of this Dissertation might be expanded easily into a separate volume: and in the second place, from the very nature of some of the disquisitions, necessarily dry, however to the purpose essential, certain breaks of a pleasanter kind seemed desirable, to relieve the formality of argument, if that might be done without the discursive itself becoming tedious.

The straightforward plainness, however, of the great points to be proved, may serve, amidst so much detail, to excuse the want of methodical regularity in the process. That Horace published his collected writings from time to time in such an order of succession and in no other, and that his principal residences, after he became a professed Poet, were three determinate places of abode, neither more, nor less; these surely are questions, which (when aided by the Chronological Table here subjoined) will hardly alarm the mind of an intelligent reader with any apprehension of perplexity.

In the case of Horace, indeed, most remarkably so, "the Poet is always identified with the man,"

> ——— ut omnis
> Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabellâ
> Vita senis. 2 S. I. 32, 3, 4.

even just as he tells us it was in the person of *Lucilius*, whom he avowedly followed (*sequor hunc*) in his lucubrations as a Satirist.

And in the very same degree, after the attention is fairly awakened to trace the incidents of his life and the stages of his locality, the personal history of the man adds perspicuity at once and interest to many passages in the Poet, which might otherwise remain neither interesting nor intelligible.

Now therefore that his works are recovered from their long state of disjointed existence, now that the *disjecti membra Poëtæ* once more compose a figure of fair proportions, and Horace—*ad unguem Factus homo*—becomes himself again; I have no doubt but he will in many important and curious respects be more easily studied and more clearly understood. The investigation of other scholars which my example perhaps may serve to excite, will be rewarded with a rich return of discovery, from comparing together many parts of Horace hitherto not seen in connexion, or, if at all, awkwardly, but hereafter visible at once in their natural perspective.

Two or three specimens of this nature have recently occurred to my own mind as well worthy of notice.

For instance, the political conduct of Horace (a conduct of the most direct integrity) after the battle of Philippi, it will be impossible hereafter to distort into any semblance of the *renegade*; if his words and his deeds be only traced ever so severely in the actual succession of years. Then again, his laughing in the Satires, when a young man, at "those budge Doctors of the Stoic fur," Stertinius, Dama-

sippus and Co., will be found perfectly compatible with the calm allusion in his later Odes (e. g. 3 C. II. 17—20; 4 C. IX. 39—44, &c.) to those moral energies of that high doctrine, which Roman virtue alone might realise or approach.

From the same correctness of view, that topic of literature now lost, *De Personis Horatianis*, will yet derive considerable illustration, especially as to some of his most valuable friends. Thus, *Septimius* (2 C. VI.) who with an honest cordiality invites Horace to live and die with him at his adored Tarentum, is still recognised as the same worthy man and equally beloved, when after a few years, weary of retirement, he turns adventurer, and gains that exquisite letter of introduction (1 E. IX.) to the young Prince Tiberius, then in Asia.

Again, *Iccius*, whose pursuit of philosophy did not conceal from Horace his hankering after wealth, sustains a sharp but delicate chastisement (1 C. XXIX.) at an early period: some ten years afterwards (1 E. XII.) (when in Sicily as the procurator of Agrippa) he receives an Epistle introductory of *Grosphus*, already settled there, (2 C. XVI. 33,) in which the sweet is very ingeniously made to predominate over the bitter, and to all appearance quite consistently with honesty and truth.

It is to Horace's moral treatment of *Iccius*, and to other cases like it perhaps, such as that of *Quintius Hirpinus* (2 C. XI; 1 E. XVI. 17, &c.) and it may be to that of *Virgil* also (4 C. XII. 15. 21, &c.); that his most devoted admirer, Persius, seems to bear this happy and characteristic testimony.

> Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
> Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit. – Sat. I. 116, 7.

> And yet—arch Horace, while he strove to mend,
> Probed all the foibles of his smiling friend;
> Played lightly round and round the peccant part,
> And won, unfelt, an entrance to his heart.
>
> GIFFORD.

In the dedication of *Horatius Restitutus*, here preserved*, it will not be considered as an extravagant compliment, if I have styled Dr. Bentley the *Prince* of *Critics*. For what is the constant language of the present generation, and amongst the scholars of the Continent? Hermann, himself confessedly, "a scholar and a philosopher of the highest order," in one of his critical works, *De R. Bentleio ejusque editione Terentii Dissertatio*, tells us distinctly, that from his preceptor, *F. V. Reiz*, he inherited the disposition to honour Bentley, *tanquam perfectissimum critici exemplum*: and he has admirably concentered his own eulogy of that character in the following definition which he afterwards expands.

"Erat Bentleius vir *infinitæ doctrinæ*, *acutissimi sensus*, *acerrimi judicii*. Et his tribus rebus omnis laus et virtus continetur Critici."

24th March, 1832. R. S. Y.

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* TO THE
MASTER, FELLOWS, AND SCHOLARS,
OF
TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
ESPECIALLY TO THOSE PUPILS OF MINE
WHO HAVE BEEN OR NOW ARE ON THE FOUNDATION,
I INSCRIBE THIS BOOK,
IN THE BELIEF
THAT THEY WILL KINDLY AND JUSTLY ESTIMATE
THE TRIBUTE OF DEEP ADMIRATION
HERE PAID
TO THE CELEBRATED EDITION OF THE WORKS OF
HORACE,
WHICH THE PRINCE OF CRITICS,
RICHARD BENTLEY,
FIRST DATED FROM THAT ILLUSTRIOUS COLLEGE,
IN THE YEAR M.DCC.XI.

JAMES TATE.

RICHMOND,
April 16, 1832.

P.S. An earnest anxiety to learn whatever yet may be accurately known about the *Fons Bandusinus*, maintained to be the old genuine and only fountain of that name, near to *Venusia* (or *Venosa*), induced me to consult Dr. George Errington, Pro-Rector of the English college at Rome. Accordingly I requested from him the advantage of any research which his command of the libraries there might give, into the subject proposed; he was particularly desired to examine every document which he could find, bearing on the question in the Abbé Chaupy's *Decouverte de la Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, Vol. III. pp. 364. 538, &c.

In a long, curious, entertaining Letter lately received, my learned and accomplished correspondent assures me, that while the extract itself from the Bull of Pascal the IId (about which I inquired) is indeed *literally correct*, he considers its *application*, however, as very *suspicious;* from the manner in which Chaupy "sees a little, presumes a great deal, and so jumps to the conclusion."

The passage quoted by Chaupy and more fully given by Mr. Hobhouse (vide the close of the Dissertation for particulars) contains, to be sure, various words—de Castello *Bandusii*—in *Bandusino fonte* apud Venusiam, &c., which seem full of excellent promise: but when rigidly examined, those words leave nothing essential, beyond the simple fact, that in the year A.D. 1103, "at or near Venosa there was a Church called *in Fonte Bandusino*, for what cause so called cannot now be ascertained."

The fountain itself, somewhere in that neighbourhood beyond a doubt, existed apparently in Horace's day. But while the precise spot of the Poet's birth, on the banks of the Aufidus, and therefore if geography may be trusted, *not immediately near to Venusia*, has but little chance now of ever being exactly determined, the original *Fons Bandusinus* must without a sigh be resigned to its fate; perhaps that of an extinct fountain in a country more or less subject to volcanic

influence. And finally, in referring here to Mr. Cramer's *Ancient Italy*, Vol. II. p. 290, I beg to be candidly understood as not at all impeaching his general accuracy: he does but exhibit, avowedly so, the specious result of Chaupy's discoveries, when he says of the *Fons Bandusinus* (in the Bull alluded to, APUD *Venusiam*), "that we ought to restore it to its true position, about *six miles from Venosa*, on the site named *Palazzo*." Let the right or the wrong of all this repose with *Capmartin de Chaupy*.

Habeat secum, servetque sepulchro.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE PRESENT EDITION.

On a new edition of *Horatius Restitutus* appearing, some account may naturally be expected of what has been done, in the way of addition and improvement, to constitute an increased claim for its kind reception with the lovers of Roman literature.

In the first place, the *Preliminary Dissertation* remains in the arrangement of its principal parts the same as before; and though with great enlargement in the materials of new and interesting observation, yet not so far, it is hoped, as to render any one topic disproportionate or tedious. To preserve as much as possible something like unity in the composition, such new subjects as from their importance seemed to justify a larger discussion, it has been thought advisable to form into separate articles of *Appendix*, with the best arrangement which the diversity of nature in many of them would permit.

Amongst other additions, the *Chronological Table* now so much extended in its plan, pp. 90—94, may fairly be reckoned. I am indebted to Lord Holland's kindness, who has taken a most friendly interest in *Horatius Restitutus*, for the very just suggestion, that greater particularity and fulness of detail would give increased value to the Chronology, which beyond a doubt was too brief before. And Mr. H. Fynes Clinton, whose judgment I solicited on the MS. in its altered state, honoured me with the following reply:

that after a careful examination he thought it very much improved by the addition made of testimonies from the works of Horace in the fourth column, and that he perfectly understood the design in this Chronology, not to illustrate *history* from *Horace*, but rather *Horace* from *history*. "This design," he adds, "you have fulfilled in a very complete and satisfactory manner; and your tables, as now enlarged, will render great assistance to the future students of Horace."

It cannot be impertinent here, in allusion to P. D. 81, 2. to announce; that a Memoir of the Life and Times of Horace—with a regular parallel in the events of Roman history and in the biography of contemporary poets—has been sketched with great exactness by Mr. Charles Wordsworth, of Winchester, in a sheet privately printed and for limited circulation only. Professedly formed, as it is, on the basis of the Preliminary Dissertation and of the Fasti Hellenici, and already carried down to the publication of the third book of Odes, it has deserved and received my very hearty approbation. And I record with much pleasure Mr. Clinton's opinion, which on such a subject is quite decisive: "it will be a valuable guide and eminently useful to young men engaged in academical studies."

In the additional space which this volume has demanded, the largest share is claimed by the Dissertation on the Metres of Horace; which in its prefatory pages (159—161) sufficiently enumerates the different authors to whom my obligations are due. Let me, however, in particular reference to Dr. Herbert, take this opportunity to premise that as far as he has clearly shown the way, in that curious line of the *leading accents* essential to the right constitution of verse, I have freely availed myself of his guidance; and that where I have felt less assurance on any points in

his doctrine, I have stated the facts without comment, and left the farther application for other scholars to demonstrate. Nor may the gratification be denied to me of stating, that in the month of January, 1836, the Dissertation itself was drawn up as it now stands, chiefly on existing materials, with the aid of my son and successor in the School of Richmond, Mr. James Tate, a sound and elegant scholar, as well as a faithful and diligent preceptor.

And here, if the overflowing matter may be excused for seeking admission into a place not properly its own, let the two following ADDENDA be accepted towards completing or extending the separate articles to which they belong.

I. In the *Familiar Day* of Horace, Appendix, pp. (100), (101), (102), I have shown in what style and on what conditions he professed to entertain his friends, and have exhibited another variety of good fellowship, which was partly managed at the common expense of the parties. Now a reader who is not sufficiently aware of the difference betwixt that age and our own, may naturally ask: "Had the gentlemen of Rome then no other plan for enjoying the social hour but those which you have here described?" None, that I am aware of, is apparent in the pages of Horace. For the scenes which you may perhaps imagine adapted to that purpose, were in our poet's time evidently unknown in any such use. With him, the *caupona* occurs only as an inn for the entertainment of travellers, 1 S. v. 51; 1 E. xi. 12; xvii. 8; the *popina*, as an eating-house (with its frequenter *popino*) dirty and discreditable, 2 S. iv. 62; vii. 39; 1 E. xiv. 21; and, finally, the *taberna* (in the only pertinent acceptation of the word) as nothing more or less than a mere wine-shop, and one to which very low persons resorted, 1 E. xv. 24. In short, any thing like our tavern, or

other place of reception for a party to dine, seems to have been unknown at Rome in the age of Augustus.

In the well-known invitation to Torquatus, 1 E. v. 2. that *olus omne* of a dinner may well excite our wonder; and if strictly so understood, can hardly expect to be credited. Let any person, however, who entertains such a doubt, betake himself to Tully's Epistles, *Fam.* VII. 26, and there he will read, among the practical effects of the *Lex sumtuaria* rigidly enforced during the usurpation of Cæsar, that Cicero from eating vegetables only, but very highly dressed, *in cœnâ Augurali apud Lentulum*, incurred a dysentery which had nearly been the death of him.

If such was the habitual frugality of Horace's meal, we may be the less surprised at his unquestionable nicety with regard to its concomitant, good water. With him, indeed, this was a necessary of the first importance: and it is curious to trace his own repeated mention of it from 1 S. v. 7, 8. where he could eat no dinner because the water was bad, through his wish, 2 S. VI. 2. for the *jugis aquæ fons*, and his pride in possessing, 3 C. XVI. 29. *Puræ rivus aquæ.*—down to the inquiry at a late period, 1 E. XV. 15, 16. what kind of water the inhabitants of Velia and Salernum enjoyed.

> Collectosne bibant imbres, puteosne perennes
> Jugis aquæ.

II. Horace, when recounting the many annoyances from which his comparative poverty and his humble rank exempted him, includes this also:

> ——— *ducendus* et *unus*
> Et *comes alter*, uti ne solus rusve peregreve
> Exirem. 1 S. VI. 101, 2, 3.

The necessity then to maintain those *comites* would have formed in his estimate one of the miseries of wealth and

high birth. From whence, it may be asked, did this adjunct of nobility and opulence arise, which so marked civil society in the age of Augustus? Clearly enough, its origin was military, in the custom for young men of family to go out as *contubernales* to commanders in chief and governors of provinces, and under their eye to learn all the *virtutes imperatorias* whether of provincial policy or of the art of war.

The authority of Cicero for the military practice in his day is very explicit. Take two instances as presented by Ernesti in his valuable *Index Latinitatis.* Pro Cn. Plancio, § 11. and Pro M. Cœlio, § 30. it is stated as a fact highly honourable to their characters, that the one enjoyed the *contubernii necessitudo* with Aulus Torquatus, and that the other went into Africa to be Q. Pompeio Proconsuli *contubernalis.* For a period not much later, the words of Horace may be considered sufficiently clear, as when at 1 S. VII. 25. he mentions the *comites* of Brutus, and at 1 E. VIII. 2. he writes to Celsus Albinovanus, *comiti* scribæque Neronis, with the *cohors* also of that young prince (v. 14) alluded to. In a brief sketch like this, one more example, but that of a splendid name, may suffice. The young *Agricola*, as we are told by Tacitus, § 5. Prima castrorum rudimenta Suetonio Paullino diligenti ac moderato duci approbavit, electus, quem *contubernio* æstimaret.

Now, by what process the transition took place from the *contubernalis* of the Prætorium abroad to the *comes* of the mansion or the villa at home, it may be a difficult office to develope. But the two Epistles, XVII. and XVIII. to Scæva and to Lollius, (of which the latter supplies the term *comitem*, v. 30. in sequence to *dives amicus*, v. 24. as the correlative, followed by *potentis amici*, v. 44. in the same meaning,) abundantly demonstrate, that the relation of such a *minor* to such a *major amicus* prevailed much in the highest Roman society, at the time when Horace wrote

those two Letters of advice with such masterly skill and such beautiful execution.

Before concluding, it is incumbent on me to acknowledge, with many thanks, the valuable assistance which I received in the summer of last year, when at Richmond, from the fine taste and talent of Mr. William King, in very carefully drawing up the principal articles of Appendix. Mr. King is already known, I trust, from the just compliments paid to him as my coadjutor in editing the Analecta Majora Poetica of Professor Dalzel in 1827; and he well deserves to be known from his labour so judiciously bestowed on the last edition of Mitford's History of Greece.

Nor may the valuable services of Mr. Robert Baldwin be allowed here to pass unacknowledged. Without his friendly assistance and judicious advice, these sheets could never have been carried through the press; under the peculiar difficulty of so many MS. additions and corrections to be incorporated with the old text, and the difficulty itself aggravated by that text being so singular a compound of original matter blended with quotation.

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INTRODUCTION.

DISSERTATION

ON

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORKS,

AND ON

THE LOCALITIES AND LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

HORACE.

Having now, for more than one third of a century, been engaged in reading the works of Horace with my Pupils, and having long witnessed in his commentators the confusion very often attending their neglect of his *chronology*, (let me add of his *localities* also,) I have been strongly inclined for some time past to undertake the illustration of Horace, in that department alone. By the light of Bentley's discoveries in his celebrated *Præfatio*, the question *De temporibus librorum Horatii* (though the *result* only of his investigations without any part of the regular *process* is given) I ventured to consider after all as in the main decisively settled. And therefore if on the strength of Bentley's name I had proceeded to publish a new edition of the works, without any other recommendation than that of their being printed in the very order in which they were originally published in successive books by the author himself;

it struck my mind very forcibly, that such an edition would be hailed by Scholars as an era in Horatian literature.

That design, however, still hung in suspense, and might yet have been indefinitely delayed. But in the course of last year, (1831,) I was led to expect the appearance of a Second Part of the *Fasti Hellenici*, &c., by Mr. H. Fynes Clinton, brought down to the death of Augustus: and that expectation inspired me with a strong anxiety to learn what the Master Chronologist had done, under the head of *Roman* Authors, towards fixing or correcting the calculations of Bentley. My satisfaction of course was very great to find, that all the principal points which had been laid down one hundred and twenty years ago for the foundation of that arrangement, may now be received as determined once for all by the very highest authority.

Mr. Clinton himself on being informed of my intention gives me the kindest encouragement to persevere: he approves of my undertaking so useful a work as an edition of the books of Horace, arranged in chronological order: and he assigns as a reason for his approbation, that the neglect of that order has produced much perplexity to the student not of Horace only, but of many other authors of the Augustan age.

Under all these circumstances, I now am emboldened to proceed in the task; and as the design in the first instance is submitted to the judgment of scholars, which it candidly invites, I shall at once lay before them as preliminary to all other disquisition the following extract from Bentley's *Præfatio*. The title is copied from the formula adopted by Gesner, who in his edition of Horace gives all this extract except what stands as the first section of it: and the division here made of the whole into parts commodious for reference, will on that account be readily allowed.

DE TEMPORIBUS LIBRORUM
HORATII
ET
POEMATUM ADEO
RICH. BENTLEII SENTENTIA.

¶ 1. Jam vero et illud monendum est, editiones principes et recentioris ætatis codices alio ac nunc solemus ordine *Artem Poëticam* collocare, post carmen nempe Sæculare ante Sermones et Epistolas: vetustiores vero omnes Membranas post Carminum libros *Artem* Epodis præponere. Si quæris, quisnam ex his ordo recte se habeat, seriemque temporum, quibus singula ab auctore edita sunt, rite conservet, vetustusne ille an medius an hodiernus; nullus profecto omnium.

¶ 2. Magno quidem studio et acerrima contentione post *Tanaquilli Fabri* operam Clarissimi viri *Dacerius Massonusque* in hanc arenam descenderunt; quorum equidem acumen et eruditionem in partibus laudo; in operis vero summa totoque constituendo rem eos infeliciter admodum gessisse censeo. Horum enim rationibus, et Carminibus et Epodis et Sermonibus Epistolisque scribendis uno ac eodem tempore vacavisse Nostrum necesse est; et singula quæque poëmatia separatim in vulgus edidisse: quorum utrumque a vero alienum esse mihi pro comperto est.

¶ 3. Quippe omnibus, qui ejusmodi Poëmatia scripserunt, id in more erat, ut non sparsas Eclogas, sed integros Libellos semel simulque in lucem ederent. Ita *Catullus* fecit, ut ex Epigrammate I. constat, *Cui dono lepidum novum* Libellum: ita *Tibullus*, quem vide Elegia I. libri tertii, v. 7. et 17. ita *Propertius* Eleg. I. librorum II. III. et IV. ut et Libri II. Elegia X, v. 25. et XIX, v. 39; ita *Virgilius*

Bucolica dedit, uti patet ex ultimo illo, *Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem:* ita *Naso* Amorum et Tristium et Ponticorum libros, ipso teste: ita *Statius* Silvas suas: ita *Martialis* Epigrammata, ut Præfationes eorum fidem faciunt: ita *Persius* Satiras; *Phædrus* et *Avienus* fabulas; *Ausonius*, *Prudentius*, *Sidonius*, *Venantiusque* sua Carmina; quod ex eorum Prologis abunde patet.

¶ 4. Quid quæris? Ipse quoque Horatius Libellos suos junctim editos aperte indicat; primum Carminum librum ex Prologo; secundum tertiumque ex Epilogis; Epodos ex illo XIV. *Inceptos olim promissum carmen Iambos Ad umbilicum adducere;* Sermonum priorem librum ex versu ultimo, *I puer atque meo citus hæc subscribe* LIBELLO; posteriorem ex Prologo; priorem vero Epistolarum et ex Prologo et ex Epilogo. Quartum vero Carminum, et Epistolarum secundum *longo* post cetera *intervallo* emissos esse, plenissimum est *Suetonii* testimonium; quod qui aut refellere aut eludere conantur, inanem operam insumunt.

¶ 5. His jam positis; primum Horatii opus statuo *Sermonum* librum *primum*, quem triennio perfecit intra annos ætatis XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII; postea *Secundum* triennio itidem, annis XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII; deinde *Epodos* biennio, XXXIV et XXXV; tum *Carminum* librum *primum* triennio, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII; *Secundum* biennio, XL, XLI; *Tertiumque* pariter biennio, XLII, XLIII: inde *Epistolarum primum* biennio, XLVI, XLVII; tum *Carminum lib. quartum* et *Sæculare* triennio, XLIX, L, LI. Postremo *Artem Poëticam* et *Epistolarum librum alterum,* annis incertis. Intra hos cancellos omnium poëmatiων natales esse ponendos, et ex argumentis singulorum et ex Annalium fide constabit.

¶ 6. Inde est, quod in Sermonibus et Epodis et Carminum primo, *Cæsar* semper, nunquam *Augustus* dicitur; quippe

qui id nomen consecutus est, anno demum Flacci xxxix; in sequentibus vero passim *Augustus* appellatur. Inde est, quod in Sermonibus et Epodis *Juvenem* se ubique indicat; et quod sola Satirarum laude inclaruisse se dicit, ut Bucolicorum tum Virgilium (Serm. i, 10. v. 46.) nulla Lyricorum mentione facta.

¶ 7. In ceteris autem singulis procedentis ætatis gradus planissimis signis indicat: idque tibi ex hac serie jam a me demonstrata jucundum erit animadvertere; cum operibus Juvenilibus multa obscæna et flagitiosa insint; quanto annis provectior erat, tanto eum et poëtica virtute et argumentorum dignitate gravitateque meliorem castioremque semper evasisse.

¶ 8. Ceterum ubicumque viri doctissimi extra limites hic positos in adsignandis temporibus evagantur, toties illi in errores prolabuntur. Facile quidem mihi foret id in singulis ostendere; verum unum modo alterumve hic attingam, cetera tuæ industriæ relinquens. Libri i. Carmen 21, *Dianam teneræ dicite Virgines*, perperam *Sæculare* vocant, et ad Horatii annum xlix. referunt; ringente Suetonio, qui tres Carminum libros *longo intervallo* eum annum præcessisse testatur. Atqui nihil quicquam hic de *Sæcularibus* ludis proditur; sed aut ad Dianæ aut Apollinis festum spectat, quorum illud mense Augusto, hoc Julio singulis annis celebrabatur. Eodem pertinet Catulli carmen xxxv, *Dianæ sumus in fide;* quod *Sæculare* etiam a viris doctis pessime inscribitur; cum nihil ibi de *Sæculo* habeatur, isque diu diem obierit ante Ludos Augusti Sæculares.

¶ 9. Tum et ii, 17, *Ad Mæcenatem ægrotum*, immani parachronismo ad Horatii annum lv. ultra libri quarti tempora ablegant; idque levi et futili argumento, quod co anno continua insomnia vexari cœperit Mæcenas triennio ante diem fatalem. Quasi vero non plus semel in tam longa vita ægrotaverit, quem Plinius major vii, 51. *perpetua febre* ab adolescentia laborasse tradidit.

10. Illud vero in Sermone vi, libri 2, *Quid, militibus promissa Triquetra, Prædia Cæsar, an est Itala tellure daturus?* non, ut volunt, ad pugnam Actiacam annumque Flacci xxxv. referendum erat, nec ad Philippensem annumve xxiv: quippe de agrorum divisione hic agitur, quæ post *Siculam* de Pompeio victoriam et Lepidi deditionem in Campania alibique facta est, anno Flacci xxxi, ut disertis verbis narrat Dio p. 456, 457. Plutarchus Antonio p. 941, Paterculus ii, 81; et Appianus p. 1176. Alia omnia pari facilitate refutari possent; sed his fruere et vale.

In all this extract, confessedly, we have little more than the *result* of Bentley's investigations: the regular *process* throughout, by which facts and arguments were drawn up into a chronological system, we do not possess. Much less can we venture to say how far the internal evidence on which he so acutely proceeded in demonstrating the dates, turned entirely on facts of a public, or partly on those of a private, nature also. Still, however, one thing to me seems quite undeniable: the system of Bentley remains to this day unshaken from any quarter by legitimate confutation, unassailed indeed by any regular and systematical attempt to confute it. Whatever in the course of much reading I have hitherto seen, whether totally adverse or in part only contrary, I have found to involve such gross neglect of unquestionable truth, such absurdity springing up in immediate consequences; that seldom has more than one effort of thought been necessary to penetrate and discard it.

To the several labours however learned and plausible of *Faber*, of *Dacier*, and of *Masson*, after the decisive judgement of *Bentley* so declared (¶ 2.), it will not be expected, that any particular attention should be devoted by me. And yet, just as if *Masson's* accuracy in the *Vita Horatii* (1708) had never been disputed, (though he was held

by *Dacier* in great contempt,) that work has been quoted with much deference by later editors; and more or less formed on the basis of *Masson's Vita* or of the *Chronologia per Consules* of *Dacier* have been those compilations under the title of *Q. Horatii Flacci Vita per annos digesta*, which have even recently appeared.

Amongst the very latest of those who have merely gone in the old path so long trod before them, let not *Mitscherlich*, the *German* editor of the Odes, be overlooked. He wholly rejects the scheme of Bentley, and in his Preface, p. xxi. after daring to pronounce...*infirma omnino Bentleii temporum ratio*...he brings forward an objection founded on an allusion to the *Cantabri*. 3 C. viii. 21. Whoever will turn to the *Fasti* of Mr. Clinton, B. C. 23. p. 237, may see how the objection is answered and the credit of Bentley maintained by a touch of the pen from that unrivalled chronologist.

I embrace the occasion here offered, to acknowledge the great faithfulness and talent so conspicuous in the recent biography of Bentley; and on the general question before us, I adopt with much gratification the judgment (perfectly coincident with my own) which the biographer so strongly and comprehensively delivers.

" Bentley's scheme of the *Tempora Horatiana* is condemned by Mitscherlich, the Leipsic editor: but he is a person of little or no authority; and in this case he appeals to the life of Horace, by Jani, an abridgement of Masson's, one of those productions to correct the errors of which, Bentley's theory was composed."—Dr. Monk's Life of Bentley, p. 245,

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But whatever excuse I may thus plead for leaving the now obsolete merits of Messrs. *Faber*, *Dacier* and *Masson* under " the balance and the rod" in Bentley's hands;

some distinct notice is unquestionably due to the subsequent name of Monsieur *Sanadon*, from its being so eminent in the criticism of Horace for right or for wrong.

In the year 1728, from the press of Claude Robustel, *à Paris*, there came forth in two handsome quarto volumes *primâ specie* a very splendid work: Les Poésies d'Horace disposées suivant l'ordre chronologique et traduites en François: avec des Remarques et des Dissertations critiques. Par le R. P. Sanadon, de la Compagnie de Jesus.

The object of Mr. Sanadon avowedly embraces a very bold and radical change. He does not *restore* (according to the plan in this volume proposed) the *Opera Horatiana* to that order of books in which it is highly probable at least that they were first published by the poet himself. He *revolutionises* every thing; and exults in the magnificent mischief. "De toutes les piéces d'Horace je n'en laisse que trois dans leur ancienne situation." p. vi.

Now I am duly aware that the celebrated *D'Orville* (in the year 1750) left on record the severest condemnation of this barbarous concern. "Sanadon," he says, "qui nuper Horatium temerario ausu Absyrti instar concidit truncavitque, et triviali commentario obruit." D'Orville ad Chariton, p. 239. ed. Beck.

Klotzius too, in his *Lectiones Venusinæ* (1770), speaks of Sanadon's conceitedness at once and servile plagiarism in a strong tone of bitterness. Take the following examples: "Sanadonius interpretatur mire, et explicat defenditque versionem perperam, ut fere semper, quoties aliorum animadversiones non compilavit." p. 321.—"Sanadonio, servilis ingenii homine, cuique nihil magis succedit, quam si Bentleium aliosque compilat." p. 406.

To these severe expressions most probably Dr. *Parr* refers in the very clever and very playful Letter to Mr. *Henry Homer* on his projected variorum Edition of Horace. After calling him "a great coxcomb" in one part of it, he

finally says: "Beware of that rascal Sanadon: and be sure to quote what Klotzius says of him, and I say too."—Dr. Johnstone's Life and Works of Dr. Parr, Vol. I. p. 412.

Let me not be understood, however, as wishing to shelter myself under authorities like these from the responsibility of delivering an opinion of my own. From me, the first person who has ventured to print the books of Horace in the order of their original publication, something more in the direct way of reply may naturally be expected; especially as against Sanadon, who proceeding *de novo* in utter defiance to all and every arrangement of the *books* as such, has dislocated and dismembered the whole body of the Poet.

The compilers of Horace's life, indeed, in allotting such a poem to such a year of it, had very freely violated all respect in any way due to the consideration of collective books successively published: but no editor before Sanadon had ever on system *printed* the works of Horace in any other than the common series, or disturbed the common arrangement at all.

The two volumes of Sanadon now before me contain 1400 pages, exclusive of the Indices to the Work. To peruse carefully such an extent of translated and critical matter, with a view to examine, detect and refute, would be an Herculean toil. If according to Bentley (Pref. to Phalar. p. cxi.) a man "may commit more mistakes in five weeks' time and in five sheets of paper, than can thoroughly be confuted in fifty sheets and a whole year;" the complete examination of Sanadon's pages might form the labour of a very long life.

A much shorter operation must serve the present purpose. *To disable his judgment*, in the phrase of Shakspeare, may of itself be sufficient. And to that end let the following specimens of particular but very gross errors be accepted, instead of a more general and extensive reply.

(1.) With *Sanadon*, the *Epodes* (of which he discards the name entirely) are considered as a *fifth* book of *Odes*;

and they are variously scattered through the mass and mixt multitude of the real *Carmina*. He thus makes up five books of Odes altogether; and, as with an Epilogos to the whole, concludes the fifth of them with the last ode of our *third* book,

Exegi monumentum ære perennius.

Now it is most true that the great *Muretus* in the year 1551 remarks thus on the book EPODON. "Cur *Epodos* liber hic vocetur, non equidem satis intelligo: ac vidi veterem librum, in quo hic quintus Odarum liber inscribebatur." In his *Var. Lect.* too, L. iii. C. XIX, he entitles it expressly thus: "Horatii versus e quinto Odarum illustrati." But at that day, the critical knowledge of Horace was yet in its infancy: and Sanadon stands without excuse for not attending to the Grammatical signification of *Epodi*, when in all the editions by *Cruquius* from the year 1578 downwards, the old commentaries on Horace had been regularly published with the commentator's clear and explicit definition of (α) προῳδὸς, and of (β) ἐπῳδός.

α. Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
β. Amice, propugnacula.

That Archilochian metre which from its predominance (and that of others similar) gave in an early century its own appellation to the whole book of Epodes, is not at this day much better understood from Gaisford's *Hephæstio*, (1810,) pp. 129. 368. or from Hermann's *Elementa Doctrinæ Metricæ*, (1816,) L. iii. c. XV. than it might have been known for any practical purpose in the year 1578.

Of all this, however, Sanadon has shown, if not a profound ignorance, yet a most offensive contempt. His comment on the very first Epode, *Ibis Liburnis*, &c., he thus introduces, "Cette Ode est proprement une lettre en vers liriques!" No wonder, that an Editor who found *lyric Odes* in what

Horace himself denominated (Ep. XIV. 7. cf. 1 E. XIX. 23-25.)

Inceptos, olim promissum carmen, *Iambos*,

should become enamoured of his own inventions and create a chaos accordingly.

It is true indeed, that among his lyric odes, Horace has not scrupled to insert some pieces in a metre not strictly lyric: as, 1 C. IV, VII, VIII, XXVIII; 2 C. XVIII; 3 C. XII; 4 C. VII. But then among the Epodes there is nothing lyrical whatsoever; of itself, surely, a decisive fact, that to the odes, a higher class of poetry, he did not devote his mind at all till a later period.

And here it may be observed, that the word *carmen*, though specifically applied to *lyric odes*, as 2 E. II, 59. *Carmine* tu gaudes: hic delectatur *Iambis.*—yet is applicable, as in the line above quoted, even to *Iambic* verse, that in the Epodes; and that in the Epistle to Augustus, v. 85, *media* inter *carmina*, means that the drama was interrupted. Let no conclusion therefore be drawn from the use of that word, independently of circumstances in the context to determine its character.

(2.) In the whole personal history of Horace, if one spot be marked with brighter joy than another, it must be the auspicious day of his migration into the Sabine Valley: that day formed an era in the happiness, in the moral as well as literary character of his life.

Henceforth, of course, we find him much less resident at Rome; and when occasionally there, annoyed with matters of business, *invisa negotia*, 1 E. XIV. 17, and, *aliena*, 2 S. VI, 33, on the Esquiline, to a much greater degree than before; or at any rate he likes so to represent it.

All that new delight of his in the *rus* and *villula* among the Sabines, in the scenery which adorned his estate, and in the shrewd and virtuous people into whose society it threw him, Horace exquisitely describes in the VIth Satire of the 2d book,

Hoc erat in votis, &c.

The more so from its contrast with the plagues and vexations of the great city; which he touches with such playful impatience, 2 S. vi. 20–23. *Matutine* pater..Romæ *sponsorem*, &c., or still later in life, 2 E. ii. 65, 6.

> ——— me Romæne poëmata censes
> Scribere posse, inter tot curas totque labores?

The whole passage to v. 75, is full of characteristic matter, not only as to those annoyances peculiar to Horace, but as to the general distraction and bustle in the streets of the metropolis.

And yet the good natured, kind hearted man, when he had only his house at Rome, with a small establishment, not very rich, but cheerful enough and content, delighted too with the humility of his condition, made a maximum of his comforts there; before he even dreamed apparently of any higher pleasures, better suited to his genius and taste, to be enjoyed in a different locality, and under very different circumstances.

The vith Satire of the 1st book. *Non quia Mæcenas, &c.*, which describes his familiar day at Rome, is not less exquisite in its way, not less fraught with characteristic and entertaining narration, than the vith of the 2d book.

Will it be believed, except on ocular inspection, that Sanadon has committed the monstrous ὕστερον πρότερον of placing *Hoc erat in votis* BEFORE *Non quia, Mæcenas*, making the latter l. 2. Sat. 8. and the former l. 1. Sat. 7. in his *Nouvelle distribution!*

(3.) The six Odes i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, of the third book of Horace, written in one common metre and wonderfully agreeing in a well sustained high didactic tone of moral, religious, patriotic sentiment, with that striking prelude to the whole, *Odi profanum vulgus, &c.*, must impress on every

sensible mind a deep feeling of solemn grandeur, varied by amenity, and pathos, and fine imagination.

If therefore any juxta-position of Odes preserved in all MSS. and editions, might command reverence from an editor of Horace; Odes like these six could not possibly suffer violation by being torn asunder. Sanadon disjoins these six Alcaic Odes from one another entirely, and has not left even any two of them in any connection or contiguity whatsoever!

(4.) On minute examination it has been ascertained, (vid. Treatise on Metres, No. XIX.), that in the third line of the Alcaic Stanza,

2 Specimens of this structure, Hunc Lesbio | sacrare plectro.
with 3 ——— of this ———, Regumque matres | barbarorum.
and 8 ——— of this ———, Pronos relabi | posse | rivos.

are contained in the *first* and *second* books of Odes; while in the *third* and *fourth* books, as they commonly stand, *not one* instance is now to be seen of a verse so constructed in any of those ways.

Surely no argument can be more striking, than this plain fact is, to demonstrate, that Horace after publishing the 1st and 2d books of Odes, was by some cause or suggestion led to consult his ear with acuter delicacy than before; so that he vigilantly ever after guarded the third line, the key-stone of the Alcaic stanza, against modes of structure, which his improved sense of harmony condemned. Briefly to place the matter in the strongest light, no other hypothesis will account for the phenomena.

In this nice predicament, what part does Sanadon play? The truth is, that such exactness of metrical observation was unknown in his time: and we must acquit him on the charge of neglecting distinctions, not then brought into notice. But for all that excuse, the main ground of conviction remains the same. Sanadon, in his *Nouvelle distribution*,

acts ignorantly on this behalf, but he acts grossly wrong also: for those Odes marked with the faulty structure he has scattered promiscuously over the *later* books in his arrangement and over the *earlier*, very much alike. No difference is known; no discrimination is preserved. Need one say more? And here with these proofs of his *judgment disabled*, let us take our leave of Mr. Sanadon for the present.

The strange and accumulated mistakes in which the personal history of Horace has been long involved, it would be an irksome task to discuss one by one in detail. The most important of them, however, shall be duly noticed in the course of these pages; and the whole mass will be put into a way for ultimate clearance. It may be too much to assert that the publication of the books of Horace in the original series of succession will at once set all other things right: yet there can be no doubt, but the wrong, unnatural, confused order, in which his works have hitherto been exhibited, has given rise to a great portion of all the errors existing at this day. And so long as the common arrangement shall continue to influence the train of thought by the order of perusal, it will be difficult if not impossible to overcome that proneness to false combinations, which the working on a distorted view must of necessity create.

But when once that disorder is banished and the natural succession restored, then the mind, instead of being misguided by the mechanical progress of the hand and the eye, will be by that progress directed and sustained all along in tracing the personal and poetical history of Horace. All the stages of his career will then develope themselves in beautiful transition: especially, the Parian Iambics of the Sabine Poet will precede as they ought, the Sapphic and Alcaic stanzas of the Lyrist of Tivoli.

Let us now proceed to exemplify by a few striking instances what absurdity is involved in the common order of the books of Horace being taken for the true one, and what immediate congruity on the other hand arises from observing the arrangement of Bentley.

(1.) Horace in the ivth Satire of his 1st book, vv. 39—55. shows a great anxiety to disclaim all pretence to the higher character of a poet: and well he might, without any mock modesty, disavow it. At that early period of his life and writings, he had nothing to ground the claim upon, except the limited publication of a few satires, and the farther promise of talent in that particular vein.

But hear what M. Dacier says, as reported by Dr. Francis.

"54. *Ergo | Non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis.*

M. Dacier thinks, that Horace would not have been so modest with regard to his Satires, and so fearful of prostituting the name of poet, if he had not secured his own right to it by his Odes."

Hear next M. Sanadon. (Vol. ii. p. 169.)

"39. *Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetis,*
Excerpam numero.

Horace s'étoit déja assuré par ses odes le nom de Poète, ainsi il ne risque rièn à se dégrader pour ses satires. Sa modestie n'en est que plus grande, et cette vertu ne sauroit être petite dans un poète, pourvû qu'elle soit bien sincere." No exposure can make blunders like these more ridiculous: they cannot be aggravated by any comment. Père *Hardouin,* on the contrary, (Vid. Klotzii Lectiones Venusinæ, pp. 15, 39, 40. 1770,) who amongst many paradoxes maintained this, Horatii *Poetæ nihil superesse genuinum, præter Epistolas et Sermones,* draws a very different conclusion out of the verses before us.

——— neque enim concludere versum
Dixeris esse satis: neque, si quis scribat, uti nos,
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.

From this passage, *Hardouin* very ingeniously and justly concludes, *Horatium se nullas odas scripsisse profiteri:* nothing in itself more true AT THAT TIME. But the good Father too hastily assumed, that the Odes if written by Horace at all, had been written as their collocation to him indicated, at some period prior to that of the Satires. *Hardouin* would have been disarmed of at least one argument, perhaps in his opinion a very strong one; if he had ever viewed the books of Horace in the order of their original publication.

(2.) If there be any truth in Bentley's calculations, the 2d book of these Satires was collectively published not later than the year B. C. 32. If there be any faith in the *Fasti Hellenici*, the restoration of the Roman Eagles from Parthia did not take place earlier than the year B. C. 20.

Horace (2 S. I. 10—15) when thus urged by his learned friend Trebatius,

Aut si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude
Cæsaris invicti res dicere, mu ta laborum
Præmia laturus.

declines the task with much elegance and address, on the ground of inability to describe the scenes of heroic warfare.

——— cupidum, pater optime, vires
Deficiunt; neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
Agmina, nec fractâ pereuntes cuspide Gallos,
Aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi.

The Parthians and Gauls, from having been the principal objects of dread to the Roman armies, are the nations selected to furnish, each of them, a very tremendous image of battle; with a tacit reference perhaps to the exploits of Marius at a distant period and of Ventidius on a later occasion, B. C. 39.

What is the remark of Baxter on this passage?

"15. Bene *labentis equo:* nam Parthorum pugna fere erat equestris. Apposuit autem ista, quo gratificaretur Augusto, ob recepta signa Marco Crasso adempta."

Anachronism and confusion like this might be expected from Baxter. One may wonder that the cautious and accurate Gesner should interpose no correction of it. But neither is *he* found always faithful to his qualified declaration of agreement with Bentley.

Hoc certe confirmare possum, me, dum recenseo singulas Eclogas, diligenter attendisse, si quid esset Bentleianis temporum rationibus adversum, nec deprehendisse quidquam, quod momentum aliquod ad eam evertendam haberet; licet quibusdam Eclogis non improbabili ratione forte tempus etiam aliud, recentius præsertim, possit adscribi.

The clearness of view which arises from placing the Satires before the Epodes, and the Epodes before the Odes, cannot be denied. The advantage to be derived from Bentley's arrangement in placing the 4th book of Odes after the 1st book of Epistles, may not perhaps be quite so evident. One example or two will serve to show the importance of that distribution.

There is an intellectual as well as a linear perspective. And some space for time and thought must be allowed to intervene: or in the case of great moral and political changes taking place, without the aid of that interval, very often all the probabilities of expectation will be shocked. Thus, if seven or eight years are considered to elapse betwixt the average date of the 3d book of Odes and the publication of the 4th; even in the omens of *moral* improvement displayed in the latter we shall see nothing extravagant, in those of *political* alteration we shall see the highest credibility.

In the vith Ode of the 3d book, Horace traces the vice and immorality which he there laments, to the predominance of luxury and corruption, which no Censorian regulations could control: and in the xxivth Ode, impressed with the very same feeling (vv. 35, 6.) he exclaims,

——— Quid *leges* sine *moribus*
Vanæ proficiunt ?

But in the vth Ode of the 4th book (addressed to Augustus) he piously exults in the blessings of a new era; and by the very phrase (v. 22.) adopted there, he recalls in contrast that vicious state of social life which now seemed to be past or to be passing away.

Mos et *lex* maculosum edomuit nefas.

Then again, in the xvth Ode of the same book, with what energy does he hail the revival of the virtues under the reign of a reforming Prince!

Tua, Cæsar ætas—
——et ordinem
Rectum evaganti fræna licentiæ
Injecit, emovitque culpas,
Et veteres revocavit artes.

In the year B. C. 24, Augustus came home from the Cantabrian war: Horace, catching a happy allusion to the heroic wanderings of Hercules, congratulates the commonalty of Rome on the victorious return of their sovereign.

Herculis ritu modo dictus, O Plebs,
Morte venalem petiisse laurum
Cæsar, Hispanâ repetit penates
Victor ab orâ. 3 C. xiv.

Here Sanadon (at times so acute and intelligent) condemns at once the opening line of this Ode; and betrays exactly what Dr. Parr would call the *coxcomb,* in the following remark.

O Plebs.] On ne peut disconvenir que ce vers n'est pas le meilleur de la piéce. Cette chute est assommante, et je ne pardonne point à nôtre Poète d'avoir si mal débuté.

The fact is, that Sanadon saw nothing here beyond the

surface. Augustus, *tribunus plebis*, be it remembered, and *plebi gratior quam optimatibus*, had been very dangerously ill in Spain: *ille rumor* (of course) *plebem maxime terruit.* Klotz. p. 317. the commons were trembling for the loss of their protector: the nobility caught at the chance of regaining their old ascendancy in the state.

Or take it from the Argumentum of the Ode, as it stands in Gesner's edition. Bello Cantabrico maximus erat *novorum tumultuum* a partibus *Optimatium* metus, ob diuturnam *Augusti* Tarracone decumbentis *valetudinem.* Illo igitur jam domum reverso, publicas ferias Palatio universæque PLEBI Horatius indicit.

Several conspiracies[a] formed against the life of that Prince are recounted by Suetonius in D. Oct. Cæs. Augusto, § XIX. But the most affecting story of the kind is that related by Seneca, of Cinna's desperate design...*non occidere, sed immolare: nam sacrificantem placuerat adoriri.* The recorded exclamation of Augustus carries a point with it, which renders all comment unnecessary. *Ego sum* NOBILIBUS *adolescentibus expositum caput, in quod mucrones acuant!* Seneca de Clementiâ, I. 9.

Turn now to the 4th book of Odes: imagine the lapse of a few eventful years, say from B.C. 24 to the year 15, when Augustus yet remained in Gaul; and then, in the absence of all alarm, mark the lofty tone of pride and security, and the oblivion of all political distinctions.

ii. 50. Non semel dicemus, Io triumphe! | *Civitas omnis.*

v. 1—8. Divis orte bonis, optime Romulæ
Custos gentis, abes jam nimium diu:
Maturum reditum pollicitus *Patrum*
Sancto concilio, redi.
Lucem redde tuæ, dux bone, patriæ:
Instar veris enim vultus ubi tuus

[a] For "the conspiracy and death of *Murena,*" &c., &c., vide *Fast. Hellen.* B.C. 22.

Adfulsit *populo*; gratior it dies,
Et soles melius nitent.

xiv. 1—5. Quæ cura *Patrum*, quæve *Quiritium*,
Plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
Auguste, virtutes in ævum
Per titulos memoresque fastos
Æternet? O quà Sol &c.

PART II.

LOCALITIES.

To understand the writings of Horace with complete satisfaction in those parts which at all involve his personal history, the knowledge of his actual residences will be found similarly useful, if not equally necessary, as the correct distribution of his books in their original order. His localities, indeed, when rightly ascertained, are so directly connected with the Chronology and just arrangement of his works; that even Bentley's masterly calculation may derive support from a careful development of the scenes of his residence, hitherto partially or erroneously stated.

For the sake of clearness in what follows, though it be in part anticipating, let the principal places in which I believe Horace to have resided after his return from Philippi, be here at once laid before the reader.

At an early period, then, he had beyond all dispute a *house* in *Rome*, (on the higher ground of that city, *Fuge quo descendere gestis.* 1 E. xx, 5.) which during his life time he appears to have kept: by the liberality of Mæcenas

not long after, he was possessed of a RUS and *villula* in the *Sabine* valley: and charmed with the scenery of Tibur, which on his way from Rome into the Sabine country he often halted to admire, he finally became master of a *cottage* with a *garden* to it in the precincts of *Tibur* or as it is now called *Tivoli.*

It was on this latter spot, if I may be allowed to anticipate, that he dedicated the pine-tree to Diana, (3 C. XXII. *Montium custos...*) in an ode remarkable also for its contiguity in position to that beautiful ode to Phidyle, *Cœlo supinas* ... which will be found to bear such decisive evidence to the very same locality. May we not also with some probability suppose, that of the two passages in which a fondness for building is imputed to Horace, the first, 2 S. III, 308. *Ædificas*, &c., must be referred to the new erection or repairs required for his comfort in the Sabine valley; while the second, 1 E. I, 100. *Diruit, ædificat*, &c., written at a latter period, naturally carries our thoughts to improvements at Tivoli, in which he might then be engaged.

And here at setting out, let me avow that I feel no scruple in imputing the FIRST great source of confusion and error to that unlucky expression in the Life attributed to Suetonius. "Vixit plurimum in secessu RURIS sui *Sabini* aut *Tiburtini*: domusque ejus ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum." And the phrase itself, *Sabini aut Tiburtini*, had its origin, there can be no doubt, in the Iambic Scazons of Catullus *Ad Fundum*. XL.

> O Funde noster, seu *Sabine*, seu *Tiburs*,
> Nam te esse *Tiburtem* autumant, quibus non est
> Cordi Catullum lædere; at quibus cordi est,
> Quovis *Sabinum* pignore esse contendunt.

The author, whoever he was, of that Life, apparently quite ignorant of the Sabine valley, never seems to have supposed, that Horace had any rural residence except at Tivoli,

or any property and estate except in that place or just across the Sabine border.

Mr. Gifford, indeed, in his preface to Persius, considers the lives under the name of Suetonius as compilations from different Scholia of unequal value. But allowing Suetonius himself to have been the author, yet even he lived and wrote a full century after the death of Horace. And to a spot in Horace's own time evidently so little known and frequented as the vale of *Digentia*, (now called *Licenza*,) unless Suetonius had gone from curiosity and on purpose, it was very improbable in the common course of things that he should ever pay a visit at all; situated as that spot was in the mountains, fifteen miles above Tivoli, and four miles out of the line of the Via Valeria. In the course too of a hundred years or more, the inhabitants of a place circumstanced like Tivoli, might very easily lose all account of the Poet's estate and habitation lying so far out of their way; of his residence on their own spot the tradition, if founded in truth, was little likely for a very long time to be forgotten. The words therefore, *domusque ejus ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum*, whenever written, show expressly that the people of Tivoli continued to claim the honour of having had Horace as a sojourner, and to point out with pride the very house in which he lived. It is true, that the site of the Poet's dwelling cannot *now* be determined with anything more than probable conjecture: but what has that difficulty at this day to do with the distinct tradition of the second or third century? Ages upon ages of change and revolution since then have made sad havock with the palaces as with the cottages of Tivoli.

The SECOND great source of dispute and difficulty is of a more recent date and rises in a contrary direction to the *former*. The Life imputed to Suetonius seemed to fix the RUS with the *domus* of Horace at Tivoli or in its immediate neighbourhood. When therefore the *Avvocato D. Domenico*

de Sanctis [a] first, and after him the *Abbe Capmartin de Chaupy* [b], had succeeded in demonstrating once for all that the RUS and the *villa* lay in the Sabine vale of Licenza; our obligation to the rival discoverers would have been complete, and all would have ended delightfully well, if they had been content to stop there. But led astray by their favourite conceit of *unicity,*

Satis beatus *unicis* Sabinis. 2 C. XVIII. 14.

(which in the Poet's meaning carried only unicity of RUS or *Estate,*) they proceeded to demolish every vestige of property, or of habitation involving property, any where else; of course therefore house and garden at Tivoli entirely disappear.

But without such a residence granted to the Poet, there will soon be occasion to show, that we shall be constantly at fault in the localities of his poetry; from the Ist Ode of the 1st book,

——Me *gelidum nemus,*
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori,
Secernunt populo.

to the IIId Ode of the 4th,

Sed quæ TIBUR *aquæ* fertile præfluunt,
Et spissæ *nemorum* comæ,
Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem.

In the meanwhile, as it is far more gratifying to the ingenuous enquirer, to acknowledge himself anticipated, than to wrangle for prior title or to assert originality, in ascertaining the truth; I bring forward with pride a third authority

[a] *Dissertazione della Villa di Orazio Flacco, in Ravenna,* 1784, is perhaps the latest edition. It first appeared at Rome in 1761, and a second time in 1768.

[b] *Decouverte de la Maison de Campagne d' Horace,* 3 Vol. à Rome 1767, 1769.

on this Tivoline question, decisively in agreement with every previous judgment and notion of my own. The learned *Signori Abbati Cabral, e del Ré* [a], in their *Ricerche delle Ville*, &c. *della Città e del Territorio di Tivoli*. Roma. 1779. Cap. iii. par. I. § 5. and in their *Nuove Ricerche*, pag. 94. maintain the existence there of a Villa of Horace, but consisting only *in un tenue rural soggiorno in un Casino entro un Orto.*

A modest rural abode, a Cottage within a garden, there, is precisely, after his house at Rome and his Villa in the Sabine country, the one place needful to complete the Poet's list of accommodations; equally needful, let me add, to render his writings, especially the Odes, intelligible and consistent to an inquisitive reader.

My own mind unquestionably was first set a thinking on the subject of his Tivoline residence by that noble emendation of Nicholas Hardinge; which comes down to us recommended by Markland, approved by Bentley, and applauded by Parr.

> ——Eripe te moræ;
> Ut *semper-udum* Tibur et Æsulæ
> Declive contempleris arvum et
> Telegoni juga parricidæ. 3 C. xxix. 5–8.

That emendation itself I first saw in Markland's *Explicationes veterum aliquot auctorum* (p. 258—267) subjoined to his edition of the *Supplices Mulieres:* but having since read the suggested change in a Letter from Nicholas Hardinge to a friend of his then making the tour of Italy, I prefer to record it here in the very words of that *Vir capitalis ingenii*, as he is justly styled by Markland in the passage referred to.

"Ne semper udum, &c., I suspect to be a false reading in all the Editions and MSS."

[a] Vid. Domenico de Sanctis. u. s. p. 33. and in *Risposta all' Appendice dei Signori Abb. Cabral, e del Ré*, p. 3.

"For as Horace invites Mæcenas from *Rome* to his *Tibur*, it seems inconceivable that he should press him to make haste, *lest* he should be always taking a view of *Tibur*. How much properer would it have been to recommend his departure from *Rome* that he might enjoy the scenes of *Tibur!* I therefore change NE to UT. N. H."

To a great variety of disquisitions, more or less intelligent and entertaining on this text and on the topics naturally connected with it, the references below given [a] will direct the reader; if any of the books happen to be within his reach. But here it may be as well to add, however, that the combination of *semper* with *udum*, so essential to the establishment of the new reading, is happily defended not only in general by his own expression, (1. E. XVIII, 98,) Nec te *semper-inops* agitet vexetque cupido; but by the specific authority of Ovid where he describes his *natalia* rura.—Fasti IV, 686.

Parva sed assiduis *uvida semper* aquis.

Having thus secured the compliment due to an Etonian and King's man for starting the question so vitally important to the Lyric bard of Tivoli, I shall not however proceed on credit taken for his emendation being true: I shall rather appeal for corroboration of its truth to the internal evidence which the 1st, 2d, and 3d books of Odes, the 1st book of Epistles, and the 4th book of Odes in that order, all contribute to yield, not only of Horace's often visiting Tivoli, but of his residing in that quiet town very much and often during a great part of his latter days.

I. ——me *gelidum nemus*,
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
Secernunt populo. 1 C. I. 30—32.

[a] Nichols's Illustrations of the Literary History of the XVIIIth century, Vol. I. p. 651. pp. 720—736.—Poems, Latin, Greek and English by N. Hardinge, pp. 222—236.—Classical Journal. No. XXXII. pp. 383—387. J. T.—Gentleman's Magazine, April, 1818. pp. 291, 2. J. T.

II. Me nec tam patiens Lacedæmon,
Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
Quam domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et *præceps Anio*, ac *Tiburni lucus*, et *uda*
Mobilibus pomaria *rivis*. 1 C. VII. 10—14.

III. *Tibur* Argeo positum colono
Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ;
Sit modus lasso maris et viarum
Militiæque. 2 C. VI. 5—8.

IV. Vester, Camœnæ, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos; seu mihi frigidum
Præneste, seu *Tibur* supinum,
Seu liquidæ placuere Baiæ. 3 C. IV. 21—24.

V. Parvum parva decent: mihi jam non regia Roma,
Sed *vacuum Tibur* placet; aut imbelle Tarentum.
1 E. VII. 44, 5.

VI. Romæ *Tibur* amem ventosus, *Tibure* Romam.
1 E. VIII. 12.

(just as at an earlier period of life, he accused himself of oscillating betwixt his Rus and *Rome*.

Romæ rus optas, absentem *rusticus urbem*
Tollis ad astra levis. 2 S. VII. 28, 9.)

VII. ——— ego apis Matinæ
More modoque
Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum, circa *nemus uvidique*
Tiburis ripas, operosa parvus
Carmina fingo. 4 C. II. 27—32.

VIII. Sed quæ *Tibur aquæ* fertile præfluunt,
Et *spissæ nemorum comæ*,
Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem. 4 C. III. 10—12.

Surely, an accumulation of proofs like these, leaves no ground for any reasonable doubt. The woods and the waters, the cool groves of Tivoli, fashioned and inspired the soul of the Poet; while the amenity of its scenes with the retired quietness of the town, attached his heart to the place. He had a *hortus* there and a *domus* within it (4 C. XI. 2. 6.),

and his *mundæ cœnæ, parvo sub lare* (3 C. XXIX. 14—16.), were calculated to smooth the brow of the statesman Mæcenas. And to his ramblings, when first a resident at Tivoli, with such delight amid that romantic scenery—

> (—— per lucos, amœnæ
> Quos et aquæ subeunt et auræ. 3 C. IV. 7, 8.

we are clearly indebted for Horace's assuming a poetical character entirely new, in the translation to the *Romanæ fidicen lyræ* (4 C. III. 23.) from the writer of *Satires* and *Epodes* only. In one word, then, on his own express authority, on that spot, and at that time, his lyric writings had their actual commencement.

Two out of the eight passages, here adduced, on which I rely for the establishment of Horace as a sojourner at Tivoli, may in that view justify a more particular notice.

His invitation (No. III.) to Septimius has been well illustrated by the late Mr. George Hardinge. (Nichols. Literary History. u. s. p. 732.)

" Horace begins by telling him that he knows his friend would accompany *him* to the remotest and wildest part of the world:

> Septimi, *Gades* aditure mecum, et
> *Cantabrum* indoctum juga ferre nostra, et
> Barbaras *Syrtes*, ubi *Maura* semper
> Æstuat unda.

" Of course *he* should be equally desirous to accompany his friend: but he means to decline it, and he is to give the reason for it, which is, that he wishes for no *Tarentum*, unless DRIVEN from TIBUR. The Ode in any other sense would be unintelligible, and the wish for *Tibur* absurd, especially with a reference to his *old age*, which had not then arrived," &c. &c.

That Alcaic Stanza (No. IV.) forms quite a *locus classicus* in the personal history of Horace.

Vester Camœnæ, vester in *arduos*
Tollor *Sabinos*; seu mihi *frigidum*
Præneste, seu *Tibur* supinum,
Seu *liquidæ* placuere *Baiæ*.

For such were his FOUR peculiar places out of Rome, of usual residence or occasional resort. The *first* was his *Sabine* villa and estate in the vale of Licenza; after *Chaupy* and *Domenico de Sanctis*, described and verified (as it should have been sooner told) by Mr. *Bradstreet*, in the "Sabine Farm," 1810. The *second* spot refreshed him by its coolness in the dog days, sometimes: in one summer, it bequeathed to our instruction that delightful Epistle (1 E. II.),

Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli, &c.

To the *fourth*, his resort on the Campanian shore, he betook himself, often perhaps, for its fine mild air in winter.

Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris,
Ad *mare* descendet vates tuus, et sibi parcet.
1 E. VII. 10, 11.

The *third* scene, long and early admired, from being frequently visited, became at last one of his two favourite and regular places of residence out of Rome. For there is not the shadow of evidence, to rank on the same level with *Tivoli* as an habitation, either *Præneste*, the mere *æstivæ deliciæ* of our Poet, or *Baiæ* resorted to for its warm climate and its baths; least of all the distant *Tarentum*, deeply beloved, much talked of, but very seldom visited.

Tarentum, indeed, if he were to change from Tivoli, we have just seen he would prefer to all places for his residence. And yet, of any actual visit to that spot, though so well known, with its peculiar charm; *ver* ubi *longum tepidasque* præbet | Jupiter *brumas*. 2 C. VI. 17, 18. he has bequeathed no memorandum whatever. None of his writings exhibit the slightest indications of having been written there; nor any where on the coast in winter does he

seem to have used his pen at all: *Contractusque leget*, are his own words, 1 E. vii. 12, when meditating to go down to the sea, most probably to Baiæ.

Let me not be considered as dwelling too long on this investigation of the Poet's principal localities. Or should it be asked, in what way those points when determined, can give aid towards the illustration of Horace, the following examples with the deductions arising out of them may serve at present for a reply.

(1.) For the entire separation of Horace's residence in the Sabine valley, not only from his house at Rome, but from his humble mansion at Tivoli, we are very much indebted to the information conveyed in his xivth Epistle.

As the picture of country life in all its simplicity and innocence which the 2d Epode (*Beatus ille, &c.*) presents, was in its *general* character drawn from Horace's personal knowledge and observation in the vale of Licenza; so we may with the greater zest enjoy the *moral repose* in those of his writings which bear the stamp of that valley, as the subject at once and the scene of composition.

Now that Epistle (the xivth) to his *Villicus*, besides much that it tells us not otherwise known of Horace in Rure *suo* and of his employments there, most fortunately tells us also, from what pests or pleasures that abode of Sabine virtue was free.

vv. 21—26. ——— fornix tibi et uncta popina
Incutiunt Urbis desiderium, video; et quod
Angulus iste feret piper et tus ocius uvâ;
Nec vicina subest vinum præbere taberna
Quæ possit tibi; nec meretrix tibicina, cujus
Ad strepitum salias terræ gravis, &c.

In consequence of this discovery, for in its application I believe it so to be, we are enabled directly to mark the scene of several of his writings as limited either to Rome or to

Tivoli; and thus we distinguish, very often with little difficulty, what the great city allowed him to write from what the *vacuum Tibur* suggested or inspired.

Look at the light and elegant Ode to Phyllis. 4 C. XI.

vv. 2, 3. Est in horto, | Phylli, nectendis apium coronis, &c.

But he had no *hortus* at Rome; as the same Epistle testifies,

vv. 41, 2. ——— invidet usum
Lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et *horti*:

therefore this Ode was not written in that city.

Horace goes on thus:

vv. 34, 5. —— condisce modos, amandâ | Voce quos reddas.

But here is the *meretrix tibicina*, or a lady hardly of purer quality: therefore it was not written in the valley.

Of course Tivoli was the scene of this gay celebration of Mæcenas's birth-day.

(2.) Let us proceed to place in the true light that beautiful Ode with its rational piety, *Cælo supinas, &c.* 3 C. XXIII. The *Rustica Phidyle*, there addressed, is considered as having been *haud dubie Villica in fundo Horatii Sabino;* and even the grave and cautious Gesner says, *Lepida certe Dacerii et Sanadoni suspicio, Horatium astute dissimulatâ Epicurei personâ sic voluisse impedire, ne in villâ suâ nimii sumtus fierent in sacrificia.*

Now it certainly does appear from Cato *De re rusticâ, in sacrificia*, that the *Villica* in his time was bound to offer no sacrifice without order from her master or mistress. *Scito dominum,* he adds, *pro totâ familiâ rem divinam facere;* and Columella, who after the lapse of two centuries, has to lament the progress of refinement as deteriorating the character of the rural *domini*, (Lib. XII. Præfat. pp. 551, 2. Ed. Schneider,) inserts amongst the qualifications of a good *Villica*, that she be *a superstitionibus remotissima.*

All this might so far very well agree with the idea of Horace's *astuteness*, in checking the religious expensiveness of such a servant at the Sabine farm; either if any vestige of his having had a *Villica* on that small establishment were extant in his writings, which it is not, but rather the contrary; or if we found that Horace himself appeared to neglect the proper sacrifices which rustic devotion required: on this latter point we may rather presume that his feelings and his practice went in unaffected conformity with those of the good people, amongst whom, so delighted with their simplicity and probity, he was accustomed to dwell: and in confirmation of that view, the following references, as obliquely or directly bearing on the question before us, may be consulted with advantage.

Ep. II. 59. 1 C. IV. 11, 12. 3 C. XIII. 3. XVIII. 5. XXII. 7.

But lastly, what shall we say, if after all neither the scene nor the subject of that ode could belong to the vale of Lucretilis?

Now if the reader will but look to v. 5, he will discern among the blessings which Phidyle might expect:

> Nec *pestilentem* sentiet *Africum*
> *Fœcunda vitis.*

Let him turn next to the Epistle (XIV.) *ad Villicum suum*, (his bailiff,) and there he will read at v. 23,

> Angulus iste feret piper et tus ocius *uvâ*.

The Sabine valley then produced no grapes at that time. And as to the *Sirocco*, elsewhere called the *plumbeus Auster* of Autumn (2 S. VI. 16—19.), so far from being annoyed with it there, Horace fled thither *in montes et in arcem ex urbe* on purpose to avoid it: very often for two months together apparently, or more: *Sextilem totum* (1 E. VII. 2.) *Septembribus horis* (XVI. 16.). He could however endure and even enjoy the city, (this we find from

his epistle to Torquatus, 1 Ep. v.,) even so late as Julius Cæsar's birth-day, the 10th of July.

In one word, then, what is the plain inference from all this? Phidyle (whether a real person or in part imaginary) must be considered as a yeoman's wife in the neighbourhood of Tivoli. Such a person we may well suppose to have been the *pudica mulier* (Ep. ii. 39.) elsewhere described; and, *innocence* of character being therefore presumed, we have only to take *immunis* at the beginning of that fine stanza,

> Immunis aram . . . . . . mica,

in its natural sense of *costless*, *with little or no cost;* which Casaubon (Persian. Imit. Horat. ad S. ii. 75.) and Bentley (*in loc.*) agree in maintaining against the vulgar interpretation of *innocent*, as unauthorized as it is unnecessary.

But we have not yet done with this Ode. From Tivoli or the high grounds near it, Phidyle might probably see *Algidum* or *Alba* (vv. 9—11). In the Sabine valley, the Villica of Horace (if such a person there was) most assuredly could see nothing of the kind; and was far too remote to *hear* anything of places like those. There would have been a violation of all nature and probability in addressing such an Ode, even *nomine tenus*, to a person so circumstanced.

Then too, (v. 16,) from whence was the *myrtle* to come? from the same genial soil which yielded the *rose*, the *ivy*, the *apium*, and the *vine;* from the *mite solum Tiburis* (1 C. xviii. 2.), to be sure.

(3.) On similar internal evidence to that contained in the two Odes, (already considered,) 4 C. xi, and 3 C. xxiii. I should date in *Tivoli* the invitation to *Quinctius Hirpinus*, 2 C. xi.

Quid bellicosus Cantaber, &c. Examine if you please the following particulars:

> 21, 22. Quis *devium scortum* eliciet domo
> Lyden? *eburnâ* dic age cum *lyrâ*, &c.

18—20. ——— Quis puer ocius
Restinguet ardentis *Falerni*
Pocula prætereunte *lymphâ* ?

13, 14. Cur non sub altâ vel *platano* vel hâc
Pinu jacentes sic temere, &c.

and let the *hâc pinu* be especially remarked, for the same scene, apparently, as that in the beautiful stanza, 2 C. III. 9—12. Quâ pinus, &c., rivo.

On the authority of Mr. Hobhouse (in his note 71 to Canto IV. of Childe Harold) and from his own lively report we learn, that the *Pine* is now as it was in the days of Virgil, a garden tree [pinus in hortis. Buc. VII. 65.]; and that there is not" at present, " a Pine in the whole valley" of Licenza. I venture to add, that not one verse of Horace decisively records a single *Pine* in that valley; and it is barely possible, that in the course of the few years which elapsed betwixt the 2d book of Satires and the 2d or 3d book of Odes, any Pine tree of Horace's own planting there should have been *imminens villæ* (3 C. XXII. 5.) or as in the Ode before us, like Virgil's *plane tree*, (Geo. IV. 146.) *ministrans potantibus umbras*.

As for *Quinctius Hirpinus* in particular, it is quite clear, that he had never visited (what friend of Horace, does it appear, ever did visit?) the vale of Licenza: or we should not have now possessed that Epistle (the XVIth) with the Poet's description of his *delight* (hæ latebræ *dulces*) in the Sabine valley, and of the romantic *beauty* (*amœnæ*) which adorned it. He did not rest his attachment to that sequestered spot, on the ground of a partiality merely resulting from habitual residence, " cum locis etiam ipsis montuosis delectemur et sylvestribus, (these are Cicero's words,) in quibus diutius commorati sumus." Lælius. s. 19. For such scenery of the picturesque kind he avows at once his taste and admiration, in a way that *we* should hardly expect, writing thus to his *Villicus*, 1 E. XIV. 19, 20. on the contrast of their respective likings,

——— quæ *deserta* et *inhospita* tesqua
Credis, *amœna* vocat, mecum qui sentit ......

(4.) Horace had a way of his own, an *oblique* way of mentioning sources of anxiety or objects of ambitious desire in other men, from which he considered himself fortunately free.

Thus in a passage of the 1st Epode, to Mæcenas, *Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium, &c.* in which he so tenderly begs as his companion to share the dangers of the ensuing *war* (called *Actian* from its issue); he declares his heart to be influenced by honest affection alone, by no speculation of splendid reward.

vv. 23—30. Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
Bellum in tuæ spem gratiæ;
Non ut juvencis illigata pluribus
Aratra nitantur meis,
Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
Lucana mutet pascua;
Nec ut superni villa candens Tusculi
Circæa tangat mœnia.

It will hardly be believed, that instead of seeing in these lines a disavowal of any wish for wealth and splendor, some critics have found in the two last the fancied enlargement of a magnificent villa at Tusculum which Horace already possessed there! *Chaupy*, Vol. II. pp. 262, 3. with great acuteness sets this matter in its true light.

Let us take another instance.

Horace in a moody and wayward humour, real or affected, 1 E. VIII. *Celso gaudere*, &c. instructs the Muse thus to answer if Celsus Albinovanus should inquire about him:

——dic, multa et pulchra minantem,
Vivere nec recte nec suaviter; haud quia grando
Contuderit *vites*, *oleamve* momorderit æstus,
Nec quia *longinquis armentum* ægrotet in agris;
Sed quia mente minus validus, &c. &c.

That is, denying *olive yards* and *vineyards* to be the cause of his fretfulness, he in fact disclaims the ownership of either: and he disclaims also any possession of what even in the privileged hour of dedication he had declined to ask from Apollo Palatinus

> Non æstuosæ grata *Calabriæ*
> *Armenta.* 1 C. xxxi. 5, 6.

The vale of *Licenza*, let it be remarked, appears at that time to have grown neither *vines* nor *olives*. Even now, though the difference of culture, as Mr. *Bradstreet* assures us (pp. 25, 27.) has introduced a great number of *olives*, &c. the *grapes* do not succeed so kindly, as the *hardier fruit* trees, and still produce but a rough kind of wine.

After this indirect determination of the extent of Horace's wealth, it may not be amiss to render the statement in some measure complete by noticing the lines, ambiguous certainly, which commence the Epistle (xvi) to *Quinctius Hirpinus*.

> Ne perconteris, fundus meus, optime Quinti,
> *Arvo* pascat herum, an *baccis* opulentet *olivæ*,
> *Pomisne*, an *pratis*, an amictâ *vitibus ulmo*;
> Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.
> *Continui montes*; nisi dissocientur *opacâ*
> *Valle*: sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol,
> Lævum decedens curru fugiente vaporet.
> Temperiem laudes: quid, si rubicunda benigne
> *Corna* vepres et *pruna* ferunt? si *quercus* et *ilex*
> Multâ *fruge* pecus, multâ dominum juvat *umbrâ*?
> Dicas adductum propius *frondere* Tarentum.

From this passage, M. *Chaupy*, (Vol. I. p. 335,) in defiance of *Sanadon* and the common interpreters, avowedly so, maintains that Horace's estate was *richly* productive of *olives*, *grapes*, and other *fine fruits* also. Now, in good truth, if from these lines (liable enough, perhaps, if taken alone, to be misunderstood) we had to gain our only intelligence on the subject, the *continui montes* with the *opacâ*

valle in that high elevation might indeed be pleaded against the probable culture of the *vine:* and still it could not palpably be made out, that the *cornfield*, the *meadow*, and the *wood* with its *wild fruits*, really constituted the whole income of our Poet's estate. But from the definite object on which the great pains were taken, the improvement and extension of his *arable* land,

1 E. XIV. 3, 4. Certemus, *spinas* animone ego fortius, an tu
Evellas agro: &c.

——— 39. Rident vicini *glebas* et *saxa moventem*.

——— 26–28. ——— ——— et tamen urgues
Jampridem *non tacta ligonibus arva, bovemque*
Disjunctum curas, et *strictis frondibus* exples.

And here may we not remark, that the *ilex* of 1 E. XVI. 9. and the *bovem disjunctum* of 1 E. XIV. 27, 8, both clearly in the Sabine valley, and answering to the *fessis vomere tauris* and *ilicem* of the ode to Bandusia, 3 C. XIII. 11, 14. incidentally corroborate the truth of the locality assigned in these pages to that fountain?

From a detail of facts like these, we may well conclude, that the Poet's answer to Quintius might have briefly stood thus.

ARVO *pascit herum*.

For though it is true, that the *meadow* would on all accounts possess its natural value,

——— 29, 30. Addit opus pigro *rivus*, si decidit imber,
Multa mole docendus aprico parcere *prato*.

unquestionably, however, the ground in *tillage* formed the most profitable source of revenue and nearly the whole of it.

3 C. XVI. 29—32. *Puræ rivus aquæ, silvaque* jugerum
Paucorum, et SEGETIS certa fides meæ,
Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africæ
Fallit sorte beatior.

Let thus much then suffice to show the clear and indisputable connexion betwixt the localities of Horace and the right understanding of many other most important points in his writings or in his character.

PART III.

LIFE AND CHARACTER.

A SKETCH of the principal facts and circumstances in the early life of Horace, especially where that tends to illustrate the formation of his character as afterwards seen in his writings, shall next be attempted.

The father of Horace, after having gained his freedom in the family from which that distinguished name was derived to his son, was doubtless for many years afterwards in the laborious and profitable office (1 S. VI. 86.) of a *Coactor* at sales by auction; and had gathered together a considerable property by success in that employment.

At this period of the Roman Commonwealth, the condition of the *Libertini* was fast rising to that importance on account of its wealth, which afterwards excited so much indignation in the *Ingenui*, whose poverty was embittered by their pride: an indignation, be it observed, neither merited nor reasonable. Whoever now reads in *Tully* (Offices. L. I. C. 42.) *Jam de artificiis et quæstibus qui liberales habendi, qui sordidi sint, &c.*, will in a moment discern, that so many lucrative and not necessarily disgraceful employments, given up entirely to men of servile origin, must have lowered and lessened the class of old citizens without raising a class of new to occupy their rank and their influence in the state: the vacuum in fact was very imperfectly and very unhappily filled up.

The topic here started is full of matter for curious and interesting investigation: whether on the one hand we suppose that several ingenious arts, being already introduced into Rome in the persons of slaves, would only very slowly be admitted as objects of liberal pursuit; or reflect, on the other hand, that the system of *clientela*, however well it might work in an earlier stage of the commonwealth, at a later period could only tend to keep the *clientes* too proud to gain what *we* should call an honest and reputable livelihood, so long as they were able barely to live on the allowance made by the *patroni*. Hence the pride of caste was maintained, but at the cost of all manly independence: and in the client whom Juvenal describes thus subsisting as the poor gentleman of his day, we see the miserable wreck of Roman freedom, and of all the higher virtues by which it was once adorned.

Sat. I. 117—120. Sed cum summus honor finito computet anno,
Sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat,
Quid facient comites, quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est,
Et panis fumusque domi?

Among the *Libertini* upon record it might be difficult to point out any one person entitled to a higher degree of respect than Horace the elder. And in the year B. C. 66, (when the Mithridatic war was committed to Pompey by the Manilian law,) we may probably enough fix that worthy man's marriage and establishment in the neighbourhood of Venusia upon the *Lar* et *Fundus* (2 E. II. 52.), in which he had invested the whole of his honest acquisitions.

On that estate then, not far from the town of Venusia, apparently very near to the river Aufidus,

4 C. IX. 2. Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum,

VI^to^ Idus Decembres. Dec. 8. B. C. 65, the great Roman Poet, Quintus Horatius Flaccus, was born; who more than once in his writings, while he distinctly marks the place of his birth, records it as inauspicious for any chance of poetic fame to the native of a spot so rude and obscure.

3 C. xxx. 10—14. Dicar, quâ violens obstrepit Aufidus,
——————— ex humili potens,
Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos.

Of course, *potens* here is interpreted of Horace in that higher sense which the words, *Virtus* et *favor* et *lingua* potentium | Vatum. 4. C. viii. 26, 7. so aptly convey, and which sense of potency Horace in fact claims to himself in the very next ode, vv. 30, 1, when he thus addresses Lollius;—non ego te meis | Chartis inornatum silebo, &c.

4 C. ix. 1—4. Ne forte credas interitura, quæ
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
Non ante vulgatas per artes
Verba loquor socianda chordis.

We find him, however, in a passage to which the emendation *Argivæ* (vid. R. B. in loc.) gives the required distinction and contrast, combine even with an epithet of his *local origin*, a designation of proud eminence as the lyric poet of Rome.

4 C. vi. 25. Doctor *Argivæ* fidicen Thaliæ
Phœbe, qui Xantho lavis omne crines,
Dauniæ defende decus Camœnæ,
Levis Agyieu.

In B. C. 63. (the year famous for the Consulship of Tully and the Plot of Catiline) there came to Rome where he taught, "majore famâ quam emolumento!" a very celebrated Schoolmaster; *Orbilius Pupillus Beneventanus*, better known as the *Plagosus Orbilius* (2 E. i. 70, 1.) under whose chastising hand Horace, on being carried from his native place to that city, was destined first to smart and to learn.

No idea is here entertained of hitting the exact year for that extraordinary incident which marked the childhood of Horace: but some aid may be given to memory, if B. C. 60. be assumed for it, the year of the first triumvirate, that betwixt Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar.

"In sooth," almost from his cradle, young Horace "was no vulgar boy;" if we may credit his own story, with the interpretation of it by the neighbours attached to circumstances of so surprising and delightful a nature.

In the spring therefore, B. C. 60. (in the spring, for it was *novâ fronde*) when Horace was a few months beyond his fourth year complete, that danger and deliverance befel him in his adventurous wanderings, which no pen should describe but his own.

3 C. IV. 9—20.

Me fabulosæ Volture in Appulo,
Altricis extra limen Apuliæ,
Ludo fatigatumque somno,
Fronde novâ puerum palumbes
Texere: mirum quod foret omnibus,
Quicumque celsæ nidum Acherontiæ,
Saltusque Bantinos, et arvum
Pingue tenent humilis Ferenti;
Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
Dormirem et ursis; ut premerer sacrâ
Lauroque, collatâque myrto,
Non sine Dîs animosus infans.

How beautifully after this follows, how triumphantly indeed!

Vester, Camœnæ, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos; &c. &c.

An accident, which at a much later period of life befel him *in agro Sabino*, may yet without impropriety be noticed here; inasmuch as he gratefully attributes his protection from that danger also to the favour of divine agency. The event alluded to produced at the time an ode, itself no mean specimen of the triumph of poetry, (2 C. XIII.) if we trace the progress of fine reflection and splendid imagery from its opening,

Ille et nefasto te posuit die,

to its close

Nec curat Orion leones,
Aut timidos agitare lyncas.

The impression on his mind was altogether deep and awful. Accordingly, in that affectionate address to his patron, *Cur me querelis*, &c. (2 C. XVII), with Mæcenas's recovery from illness and the loud joy on his reappearance in public,

> —— cum populus frequens
> Lætum theatris ter crepuit sonum.

is associated his own happy rescue as deserving of similar remark,

> Me truncus illapsus cerebro
> Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
> Dextrâ levasset, Mercurialium
> Custos virorum.

And elswhere in connection with his escape from the perils of battle and of shipwreck, when addressing the Muses, he imputes that preservation also to the same kindly influence.

> 3 C. IV. 25, 27. Vestris amicum fontibus et choris ....
> Devota non extinxit arbor.

Finally, in an ode of invitation to Mæcenas, (worthy to be classed with those other two, 1 C. XX. *Vile potabis*, &c., and 3 C. XXIX. *Tyrrhena regum*, &c.,) we find the Poet, in pursuance of a solemn vow to Bacchus, (2 E. II. 78. Rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbrâ.,) celebrating on the Calends of March the anniversary of his deliverance.

It may be a more difficult attempt to assign the probable year, in which the elder Horace, dissatisfied with the country school of Flavius, determined to remove with his son to Rome, for the benefit of the highest instruction which could there be obtained. That son, on the retrospect of this interesting period, when he asserts his own exemption as well from low profligacy as from the *sordes* of avarice; gives this account of whatever was innocent or amiable in the whole of his character.

1 S. vi. 71—76. Causa fuit pater his: qui macro pauper agello
Noluit in Flavî ludum me mittere; magni
Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
Ibant octonis referentes Idibus æra:
Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare, &c.

Horace at the time of their migration, I think, could hardly be less than *twelve* years old. That age will agree well enough with the term, *mihi parvo*, which chronicles the stripes of Orbilius (2 E. i. 70.): and an earlier date, I fear, will hardly allow sufficient age for many points of observation on life and manners, picked up by the boy Horace before quitting the neighbourhood of Venusia. I speak advisedly, when I say, that there appears no proof or vestige of his ever having lived in that country again: a hasty visit, perhaps, in some year soon after the battle of Philippi, to settle old accounts, and to see once more the friends of his youth, seems the only feasible supposition which his own history of his life and writings will possibly admit.

On this presumption, too, we gain the opportunity for Horace to have witnessed the manly constancy of Ofellus under his adverse fortune,

2 S. ii. 114. ——— videas metato in agello
Cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum,
Non ego, narrantem. . . . .

and to have derived from Ofellus's conversation at that time the materials of his admirable satire, Quæ virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo, &c. (2 S. ii).

In his boyhood it appears that he had known that paragon of an honest man,

2 S. ii. 112. Quo magis his credas; puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum
Integris opibus novi non latius usum,
Quam nunc accisis, &c.—to v. 136.

Let us now see what other remarks had occurred to his mind, before he left the banks of the Aufidus, or by what

stories he had been instructed: the following instances are not void of interest.

1 S. IX. 29, 30. ——— instat fatum mihi triste, *Sabella*
Quod puero cecinit motâ divina anus urnâ, &c.

2 S. III. 168, 9. Servius Oppidius *Canusî* duo prædia, dives
Antiquo censu, gnatis divîsse duobus, &c.

Ep. II. 41, 2. Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor *Appuli.*

3 C. VI. 37 - 44. Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, *Sabellis* docta ligonibus
Versare glebas, et severæ
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes; sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras, et juga demeret
Bobus fatigatis, amicum
Tempus agens abeunte curru.

1 E. VII. 14, 15. Non, quo more pyris vesci Calaber jubet hospes,
Tu me fecisti locupletem.

1 E. XVI. 49—51. Sum bonus et frugi: renuit negitatque *Sabellus.*
Cautus enim metuit foveam lupus, accipiterque
Suspectos laqueos, et opertum miliius hamum.

The character of the rural population of Italy cannot be too reverently traced, with a view to show by what virtues (humanly speaking) Rome became mistress of the world:

4 C. XV. 12—16. Per quas Latinum nomen et Italæ
Crevere vires, famaque et imperî
Porrecta majestas ad ortum
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.

At some time then B.C. 53. (a year famous for the calamity of *Crassus* in the East) or B. C. 52. (a year remarkable for the death of *Clodius* and the oration *pro Milone*), in Horace's twelfth or thirteenth year of age we may probably fix his migration to Rome.

From that date, till he took the *Toga Virilis*, may be reckoned the first period of his literary and his moral education. Under *Orbilius* he appears to have been early instructed in the antique poems of *Livius Andronicus*.

2 E. I. 70, 1. ——— memini quæ plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare.

His learning of the Greek language would follow next, and his pride in becoming acquainted with the Iliad,

2 E. II. 41, 2. Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles:

an acquaintance which at a much later period, we know, he cultivated with renewed edification and delight. Thus he writes from Palestrina to the eldest son of his friend Lollius.

1 E. II. 1, 2. Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi, &c

But besides all this, the extent of those liberal instructions which at any cost his father obtained for him, the handsome style of appearance which placed him on a level with the first gentleman's son in Rome, and then the paternal prudence which at once secured for him the accomplishments of mind with purity of morals, shall now with the best effect be exhibited in his own language, that of the most grateful of sons. Poor as the father was, 1 S. VI. 71. *macro pauper agello*, we have seen that he was not content to send his son to the country school of Flavius, though consequential centurions thought it good enough for theirs;

1 S. VI. 76—89. Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare, docendum
Artes, quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
Semet prognatos. Vestem servosque sequentes,
In magno ut populo, si qui vidisset; avitâ
Ex re præberi sumtus mihi crederet illos.
Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat. quid multa? pudicum
(Qui primus virtutis honos) servavit ab omni

> Non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi:
> Nec timuit, sibi ne vitio quis verteret olim,
> Si præco parvas, aut (ut fuit ipse) coactor
> Mercedes sequerer; neque ego essem questus. Ob hoc nunc
> Laus illi debetur, et a me gratia major.
> Nil me pæniteat sanum patris hujus, eoque, &c.

We have next to contemplate Horace in a new light, as trained under his father's eye to become the future Censor and Satirist of that avaricious and luxurious, that voluptuous and yet superstitious age, amidst all its passions labouring under the fear of death, the epidemic of that day. For the Epicurean philosophy, however ingeniously recommended by Lucretius, and in its grand practical maxim adopted by Virgil,

> Geo. II. 491, 2. Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

was poorly calculated to console by its prospect of annihilation those who clung to life for its sensual indulgences: as little was it adapted to administer to a mind diseased with the consciousness of crime or the cravings of avarice. In the language of Job, XVI. 2. might not such victims feelingly exclaim "we have heard many such things; miserable comforters are ye all."

In his very earliest efforts as an Author, when he apologises for the freedom exercised on the follies and vices of those around him, Horace gives all the credit of that cherished inclination, very distinctly, to the wise lessons of his admirable parent; and that too after disclaiming any toleration for personal malignity in the very strongest terms.

> 1 S. IV. 101—103. ——— quod vitium procul afore chartis,
> Atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me
> Possum aliud vere, promitto, &c.—*to the end.*

The whole of that Satire, *Eupolis atque Cratinus*, &c., though in composition somewhat careless and desultory,

must be attentively studied by any scholar who wishes to comprehend the character of Horace's mind in that its early moment of fire and effervescence. The next stage, that of the Epodes, is thus described by himself at a later period of life.

1 C. XVI. 22—25. ——— Me quoque pectoris
Tentavit in dulci juventâ
Fervor, et in celeres iambos
Misit furentem.

It is important also to show by what influence of his father's instruction, at a yet earlier day, young Horace, from being warned to avoid such or such an example of profligacy and extravagance, was afterwards led to make it the object *(illudens chartis)* of his keen and playful satire also.

1 S. IV. 103—109. ——— liberius si
Dixero quid, si forte jocosius; hoc mihi juris
Cum veniâ dabis. Insuevit pater optimus hoc me,
Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando.
Cum me hortaretur, parce, frugaliter, atque
Viverem uti contentus eo quod mî ipse parasset;
Nonne vides, Albî ut male vivat filius? &c. &c.

In this career of unexampled advantages, (what son of a Roman Senator could enjoy more?) it becomes a nice question to fix how long he retained the enjoyment of such a father's guidance and love. The latest allusion to that parent's precepts may rather seem to indicate, that he did not live till his son became invested with the Toga Virilis and with the discretion attached to it.

1 S. IV. 116—121. ——— mî satis est, si
Traditum ab antiquis morem servare, tuamque,
Dum *custodis* eges, vitam famamque tueri
Incolumem possum: simul ac duraverit ætas
Membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice. Sic me
Formabat *puerum* dictis: &c.

From this very last mention (no later hint of time any where occurs) of Horace's being under his father's eye, one may

safely conclude, that the good old man must have died before the son entered on his seventeenth year. Let that in the absence of all certainty be conceded as a probable calculation.

In B. C. 48. then, the young Horace assumed the *Toga Virilis*, and became his own master with succession to his father's estate. This year too may well be remembered, from its giving date to the battle of *Pharsalia*.

A long interval now occurs from B. C. 48. to the battle of *Philippi* in 42. for which the materials extant are exceedingly scanty; from the 17th to the 23d year of Horace's age.

In the passage already quoted

2 E. II. 41, 2. Romæ nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles:

he gives no intimation whatever of the time which elapsed, but says at once, v. 43,

> Adjecere bonæ paullo plus artis Athenæ:
> Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
> Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.

Of these lines it may not be impertinent to suggest, that while the study of *moral* truth was included in the third, the science of *Geometry* was meant to be described in the second. That science was then pursued as a fit exercise and discipline for the intellectual faculties, independently of any benefit from the knowledge which it yields; and the admirable Quintilian in his day refers with great respect to that as an established opinion, before he delivers a professional judgment of his own on its usefulness otherwise.

In Geometriâ partem fatentur esse utilem teneris ætatibus; agitari namque animos, et acui ingenia, ac celeritatem percipiendi venire inde concedunt: sed prodesse eam, non

ut cæteras artes, cum perceptæ sint, sed cum discatur, existimant. Lib. I. Cap. IX.

Here I must candidly confess, that though, chiefly for the valuable remark from Quintilian, the preceding paragraph is now [1837] retained, my opinion is decisively changed as to the *mathematical* meaning attached to.. *curvo*... *rectum*... in the second of the verses last quoted. For the acceptation however of *curvum* metaphorically in a *moral* sense, (for which *pravum* is the proper term as opposed to *rectum*,) no authority is to be found but in Persius alone, sometimes the best incidental commentator on Horace: and unless therefore the following passages could be produced, which must remove all doubt on the subject, the question might still be mooted, which of the two interpretations is the true one.

SAT. III. V. 52. Haud tibi inexpertum *curvos* deprendere *mores*.

IV. VV. 9—11. Scis etenim justum geminâ suspendere lance
Ancipitis libræ: *rectum* discernis, ubi inter
Curva subit, &c.

If Horace tells us little of himself while a resident in Athens, he gives a yet shorter account of the cause which removed him from a spot apparently so much entitled to his veneration: but he wrote this at a late period of his life; when it was not likely that he should enter into any particulars of his engagement in the civil war.

V. 46. Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato.

Whenever he began to reside at Athens, probably B. C. 47. his attainments there in Grecian literature must have been very considerable, from the early allusions made in the Satires alone. 1 S. IV. 1. 2 S. III. 11, 12: where, besides *Archilochus*, we have *Eupolis*, *Cratinus*, and *Aristophanes*, mentioned, as well as *Plato* and *Menander*. His familiarity indeed with the language, and his command of it for elegant

composition we find also intimated in the following passage, where he records his attempts in Greek verse, and the judicious reproof, (for better effect assigned to Romulus,) by which he was deterred from pursuing that design.

1 S. x. 31—35. Atque ego cum Græcos facerem, natus mare citra,
Versiculos; vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
Post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:
In silvam non ligna feras insanius, ac si
Magnas Græcorum malis implere catervas, ...

During his stay in Athens that city would doubtless gratify his natural taste for retirement, as the *Vacuum* Tibur (1 E. VII. 45.) afterwards did in more settled indulgence.

2 E. II. 81, 2. Ingenium, sibi quod *vacuas* desumsit Athenas,
Et studiis annos septem dedit, &c., &c.

Horace might in B. C. 45. have formed acquaintance with the son of Cicero, somewhat his senior, who was sent to Athens in the April of that year: but not a vestige exists of any such fact. The *Messala* and *Bibulus*, so splendidly grouped in the list of his friends, 1 S. x. 81—6, &c., (a *Locus Classicus* in the biography of Horace,) we may fairly presume to have been there and well known to him; for Tully tells us, that two young men of those very names, very soon after his son went, were going to that celebrated seat of learning[a].

Of all the *Sodales* of Horace, however, not one seems to have been more dearly beloved by him, and in all probability on an early friendship, commenced (as we say) *when at College together*, than *Pompeius Varus;* who must on no account be confounded with *Pompeius Grosphus*, a very worthy man, who at that time (2 C. XVI. 33.) and several years after (1 E. XII. 22.) resided in Sicily. This Pompeius, distinguished also on good authority by the cognomen *Varus*, (vid. Torrentius,) was just then happily restored

[a] Middleton's Life of Cicero. Vol. II. p. 364. ed. 1742.

" Diis patriis *Italoque* cœlo," to the great delight of his friend Horace. That Ode, *O sæpe mecum*, which after so many years of long separation records the joyful hour of their meeting again, is imbued with all the spirit of the kind-hearted man and the convivial bard. As an authentic record also (in part) of Horace's own history, it is invaluable; ranking indeed with those principal sources of authentic intelligence, *Nunc ad me redeo*... 1 S. VI. 45—131. and *Romæ nutriri*...2 E. II. 41—52.

With a verse in that Epistle it may be worth the while to compare two lines of the Ode, as no bad example of Horace tracked in his own snow.

vv. 15, 16. Te rursus in *bellum* resorbens
Unda fretis *tulit æstuosis*.

v. 47. Civilisque rudem *belli tulit æstus* in arma, &c.

The bad conscience or the diseased mind, the *Atra Cura*, of our Poet may be similarly traced, and not without interest, through the different stages of its progress. 2 S. VII. 114, 5.—2 C. XVI. 21, 2.—3 C. I. 39, 40.—4 C. XI. 35, 6. That splendid imagination reached its acme in the third of those passages.

vv. 37—40. ——— Sed Timor et Minæ
Scandunt eodem, quo dominus: neque
Decedit æratâ triremi, et
Post equitem sedet *atra Cura*.

Though in less interesting parallels, the Scholar with Horace's writings in true succession placed before him, may derive some amusement from tracing in different stages the remarkable similitude of sentiment: the following instances may deserve attention.

(1) Ep. XVII. 65. Optat quietem Pelopis infidus pater, &c.

2 C. XVI. 1. Otium Divos rogat in patente
Prensus Ægæo, &c.

(2) 2 S. III. 91, 2. ——— quoad vixit, credidit ingens
Pauperiem vitium, et cavit nihil acrius, &c.

3 C. XXIV. 42. Magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet
Quidvis et facere et pati.

Or even the humbler similitude of the family table; as where Horace describes Ofellus,

2 S. II. 116, 7. Non ego, narrantem, temere edi luce profestâ
Quicquam præter *olus*, *fumosæ* cum *pede pernæ*.

and where he sighs for his own hospitable board in the country,

2 S. VI. 63, 4. O quando *faba* Pythagoræ cognata, simulque
Uncta satis *pingui* ponentur *oluscula lardo*?

About this period of the life of Horace, from his first residence in Athens to the battle of Philippi inclusive, the following notice of different places which he appears to have visited, will be quite sufficient for any illustration of his character or writings to be derived from that source.

1 C. VII. 10—14. Me neque tam patiens *Lacedæmon*,
Nec tam *Larissæ* percussit campus opimæ,
Quam domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et præceps Anio, ac Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.

1 S. VII. 4, 5. Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat
Clazomenis, etiam lites cum Rege molestas.

———23, 4. ——— laudat Brutum, laudatque cohortem,
Solem *Asiæ* Brutum appellat.

In a manner quite incidental and oblique we gain another fact of locality, from the Epistle (XI.) to Bullatius. Horace, after several questions put to his whimsical and odd tempered friend then on the coast of Asia, at last thus asks him:

v. 6. An Lebedum laudas, odio maris atque viarum?

This question apparently was meant to hit the very point of his friend's absurdity in acting as he did.

Horace then supposes Bullatius thus to reply to him, as equally with himself knowing the spot alluded to,

> vv. 7—10. Scis, *Lebedus* quid sit; Gabiis desertior atque
> Fidenis vicus: tamen illic vivere vellem;
> Oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis,
> Neptunum procul e terrâ spectare furentem.

But here again, Horace most acutely and sensibly rejoins,

> vv. 11, 12. Sed neque qui Capuâ Romam petit imbre lutoque
> Aspersus, volet in cauponâ vivere; nec qui, &c. &c.

The dialogue of the Epistle thus analysed may be taken to exemplify a great peculiarity in the manner of Horace; I mean, in the delicate, sudden, and slightly marked transitions, of which his readers have justly to complain. The abrupt and involved style of the Satires on this ground alone affords frequent matter of obscurity and doubt: while in the high-finished and perspicuous composition (generally so) of the Epistles, difficulty from that cause very seldom occurs.

If there be any truth in these principles of criticism, no scholar with any judgment or taste to discriminate could possibly imagine, for instance, that the Satire which ends,

> 2 S. VIII. 95. Canidia adflasset, pejor serpentibus atris,

and the Epistle which begins,

> 1 E. I. 1. Primâ dicte mihi, summâ dicende Camœnâ,

were ever written *in continuity*, as they have stood hitherto edited. For with all his recorded slowness of revision in satiric writing, (2 S. III. 2. scriptorum quæque retexens,) the great and striking difference, so visible now, in the whole tone and style of composition betwixt the Satire and the Epistle loudly forbids such an idea. Horace in the inter-

val between those two books (as it is well remarked by Bentley, ante p. 5, ¶ 7.) had evidently become both an older man and a sounder as well as a more elegant writer.

To return to Athens: early in B. C. 43. on the arrival of Brutus, then raising an army to oppose the second triumvirate, "all the young nobility and gentry of Rome"[a] (in the old Pompeian interest) whom he found in that seat of education, most readily joined his standard. The son of the illustrious Cicero, we know, became a *Legatus* under him: young Horace, catching the spirit of his associates, naturally entered the service, and with the rank of *military tribune*, but not without some jealousy on that account, as we are told, in certain persons of high birth.

1 S. VI. 48. Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.

In the course of those campaigns, as is acutely observed by Masson, (Horatii Vita, 1708. p. 55,) he must have seen much variety of hard service: he could not else have addressed his friend Pompeius in language like this.

2 C. VII. 1, 2. O sæpe mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte, Bruto militiæ duce, &c.

And we gather from the sketch of his own character, (1 E. XX. 23. Me *primis urbis belli placuisse* domique,) that he could long afterwards refer with satisfaction to the favour of the commander-in-chief enjoyed at that period.

The great battle of Philippi took place towards the end of the year B. C. 42; and Horace shared in the common ruin of the unfortunate Republicans. The proscription, perhaps, did not reach him: in the confiscation he certainly was involved. Of the worse consequences of that battle to himself he speaks thus:

[a] Hooke. B. X. Ch. XIII.

2 E. II. 49—51. Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis, *inopemque paterni*
Et *laris* et *fundi*, &c. &c.

while in respect of his escape afterwards from ill fortune, (besides his general language of thankfulness,

2 C. VII. 13, 14. Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
Denso paventem sustulit aëre :)

we may without much hesitation assume, that when returning home by sea, in the winter B. C. 42 | 41. he encountered that peculiar danger off Cape Palinurus, which he so gratefully classes with his other deliverances.

3 C. IV. 25—28. Vestris amicum fontibus et choris,
Non me Philippis versa acies retro,
Devota non extinxit arbor,
Nec *Siculâ Palinurus undâ*.

The old commentator in Cruquius speaks without scruple, indeed, of that promontory as the scene of danger "ubi Horatius se redeuntem ex bello Philippensi periclitatum fuisse dicit:" and it was thus the Poet acquired that vivid knowledge of the tempestuous sea, which enabled him to aggravate the picture of Hannibal as a mighty agent devastating the cities of Italy.

4 C. IV. 42—44. Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas,
Ceu flamma per tædas, vel *Eurus*
Per *Siculas* equitavit *undas*.

In the spring then B. C. 41. Horace is once more at Rome. Out of the scattered hints which remain, the following brief narrative may with a fair claim to credibility be drawn up. The words *victis partibus veniâ impetratâ* of *Suetonius* in *Vitâ Horatii* express no more than what Horace's actual return to Rome would in itself imply. But as the estate in the neighbourhood of Venusia was certainly gone, the next

fact asserted, *Scriptum quæstorium comparavit*, may require some ingenuity to conjecture, how he could buy for himself a patent place as clerk in the Treasury; which of course must have been the lower way of getting admission into that respectable office. That such purchases were made, and as early as B. C. 70, appears to be an unquestionable fact, from Cicero, *In Verrem.* L. III. §§ 78, 9, &c. Of so much as is quoted of that Oration by the acute and diligent Ernesti, in his *Clavis Ciceroniana*, under the word *Scriba*, the following extract may suffice.

Scribæ, qui digni sunt illo ordine, patres familias, viri boni atque honesti—ad eos me revoca. Noli hos colligere, qui *nummulis corrogatis* de nepotum donis, ac de scenicorum corollariis, cum decuriam emerunt, ex primo ordine explosorum, in *secundum ordinem civitatis* se venisse dicunt. Mirabimur turpes aliquos ibi esse, quo cuivis licet pretio pervenire?

The whole passage in the original is singularly curious, especially under the head of *collybus* and *cerarium;* as showing the extent of knavery which then could be practised in the provincial governments of Rome.

But in the apparent wreck of all his fortunes, it may be asked, how was Horace enabled to buy this *Munus Scribæ*, this *decuriam? nummulis corrogatis*, it may be answered: but from whence the *corrogatio?* Perhaps, from good-natured friends still at Rome, even in those days of confusion: perhaps, it has sometimes struck my mind, from persons in the neighbourhood of Venusia, where on old accounts in his long absence unsettled, money might yet be due to him for arrears of rent.

At all events, however, one can hardly resist the conclusion, that Horace did buy a kind of patent place as clerk in the Treasury. The words of Suetonius, *scriptum quæstorium comparavit*, are quite express and distinct. The

allusion in the well known passage, where his presence was required, as customary, at a general meeting,

2 S. VI. 36, 7. De *re communi scribæ* magnâ atque novâ te
Orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, *reverti*:

is inexplicable on any other hypothesis: the old commentator in Cruquius asserts it without scruple. And if one may suppose, that the duties of the place could be performed by deputy with *occasional attendance* of the principal, nothing can be more natural than so, in part, to interpret two lines in the Epistle (XIV) to his Villicus,

vv. 16, 17. Me constare mihi scis, et discedere tristem,
Quandocunque trahunt *invisa negotia* Romam.

Nor is it impertinent to remark, that if the profits of the situation bore any proportion to the increase of the public revenue after the year B. C. 41. Horace must have found his original purchase a very lucky one, in the twenty years or more, during which he seems to have retained it.

Whatever were Horace's means of living during the period which elapsed before he was enriched by Mæcenas with the Sabine estate; from his own description of the style in which he lived at Rome,

1 S. VI. 114—118. ——— inde domum me
Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum.
Cœna ministratur pueris tribus: et lapis albus
Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus
Vilis, cum patera guttus, Campana supellex:

we may well believe, that a very narrow income was adequate to so frugal an expenditure with so humble an establishment. His usual diet, indeed, was little altered by his increase of fortune, itself not very large in those times.

When he had got the Sabine estate, the value of which we are partly enabled to estimate by the *eight slaves* upon it, implied in the threat to Davus;

2 S. VII. 117, 118. ——— ocius hinc te
Ni rapis, accedes *opera* agro *nona* Sabino.

he is thus addressed on his style of living by that clever rogue, (during the Saturnalia, and at Rome, be it remembered,)

ibid. 29, 30. ——— si nusquam es forte vocatus
Ad cœnam, laudas *securum olus.*

The very dinner which Lucilius shared with Lælius and the younger Scipio;

2 S. I. 71—74. Quin ubi se a vulgo et scena in secreta remôrant
Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Lælî;
Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti....

And such also in Horace's day was the ordinary fare;

2 E. II. 167, 8. Emtor Aricini quondam Veientis et arvi
Emtum *cœnat olus* ....

Some fifteen years afterwards, in the Epistle to Torquatus, 1 E. v. 1, 2. his invitation very candidly promises the plainest entertainment;

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis,
Nec modicâ cœnare times *olus omne* patellâ, &c.

though, as we are told at the conclusion, there would be a small party to meet him, with room for a few friends (locus est et pluribus umbris) if he chose to bring them. Nor did he hold other language at any period between that of the Satire here first adduced, 1 S. VI. 115. and that of the Epistle just quoted. Of the homely fare on which from choice he actually lived,

1 C. XXXI. 16, 7. ——— me pascunt olivæ,
Me cichorea levesque malvæ.

he only prays to have the enjoyment continued: "Frui paratis," with the superadded blessing of health and the use of his faculties during the remainder of life,

——— et valido mihi,
Latoë, dones, et, precor, integrâ
Cum mente, nec turpem senectam
Degere, nec citharâ carentem.

Morally speaking, Horace could hardly ever want the means to maintain a style of living like this. With his own Ofellus, he could truly say,

2 S. II. 126, 7. Sæviat, atque novos moveat Fortuna tumultus,
Quantum hinc imminuet?

So that even if the storm of adversity were once more to befall him, he feels certain that his light boat will weather the gale; while the heavy-laden ship with its votaries of wealth might go to wreck.

3 C. XXIX. 62. Tunc me biremis præsidio scaphæ
Tutum per Ægæos tumultus
Aura feret, geminusque Pollux.

The *first* introduction of Horace to the acquaintance and favour of Mæcenas, that most memorable of all events in his life, may be placed in B. C. 41.

1 S. VI. 54, 5. ——— optimus olim
Virgilius, post hunc *Varius*, dixere, quid essem.

and perhaps rather late in that year. for some time must be allowed to elapse after his return from Philippi, before Virgil and Varius could well acquire a sufficient knowledge of his genius and his worth, to which they were strangers before.

But for his *second* visit to Mæcenas, with the latitude of a round number (v. 61. revocas *nono* post mense) we may assign an earlier date to it in B. C. 40. than a strict computation would admit.

From the year B. C. 40. when Horace could for the first

time retort on those who had envied his rise, the proud fact itself with the moral praise implied in it,

1 S. VI. 47. Nunc quia sum tibi, Mæcenas, convictor: &c.

down to the year in which his patron gave him that estate in the Sabine hills; the personal history of Horace must be traced in the first book of Satires. The composition of that book evidently belongs to the years fixed by Bentley, and probably enough to a year or two lower down.

Two Satires alone (the vth and viith) in the number of those ten seem to require any particular notice, from political connection with the times to which, by the subjects of them, the reader's mind is naturally carried.

The journey to Brundusium (Sat. v.) when determined to the right year in the spring[a] of B. C. 38. will receive the only farther illustration which it can admit or require, from the history of the Commonwealth, to which it belongs, or from Mr. Cramer's Description of Ancient Italy. The most beautiful passage in that poem shows how rapid and deep the growth of affection had been betwixt Horace and his two friends, Virgil and Varius: of Plotius we know little but by name.

vv. 39—44. Postera lux oritur multo gratissima: namque
Plotius et *Varius* Sinuessæ, *Virgiliusque*
Occurrunt; animæ, quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit, neque quîs me sit devinctior alter.
O qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.

A subsequent enumeration of the distinguished authors of that period embraces in fact so many of his personal friends;

[a] "I incline with Wesseling and Heyne to refer the journey of Horace to the intended conference at Brundusium described by Appian, Civ. v. 78. And you will observe that this date, the spring of U. C. 716, B. C. 38, for the poet's journey, will bring that vth Satire of the 1st Book within the dates of Bentley." H. F. Clinton. MS. communication.

1 S. x. 40–45. Argutâ meretrice potes, Davoque Chremeta
Eludente senem, comis garrire libellos
Unus vivorum, Fundani: Pollio regum
Facta canit, pede ter percusso: forte epos acer,
Ut nemo, Varius ducit: molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.

The comic author Fundanius we meet again, (2 S. VIII. 19,) as the pleasant narrator of what happened at Nasidienus's dinner. Varius, whose fine tragedy of Thyestes is so highly praised by Quintilian, appears already to have been celebrated for that epic talent alluded to in 1 C. VI.,

Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium
Victor, Mæonio carminis aliti; &c.

and Pollio had acquired eminence in the tragic drama, which we find him still maintaining when afterwards engaged in the history of the civil wars;

2 C. I. 9–12. Paulum severæ Musa Tragœdiæ
Desit theatris; mox, ubi publicas
Res ordinâris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno.

while in regard to Virgil the clear information is gained, that he was then only known as the writer of Bucolics, but in the delicacy and high finish of his style, (*molle atque facetum*,) even then indicating the consummate poet that was soon to arise.

And here from the same satire not unaptly may be introduced the proud list of *all* Horace's friends at that early day.

vv. 81–88. Plotius, et Varius, Mæcenas, Virgiliusque,
Valgius, et probet hæc Octavius optimus, atque
Fuscus; et hæc utinam Viscorum laudet uterque:
Ambitione relegatâ, te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messala, tuo cum fratre; simulque
Vos, Bibule et Servi; simul his te, candide Furni:
Complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
Prudens prætereo, &c. &c.

Well then might Horace, when allowing in other respects

the superiority of Lucilius, justly assert that he too had shared the friendship of the great;

2 S. I. 74—78. ——— Quicquid sum ego, quamvis
Infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
Invidia, et fragili quærens illidere dentem,
Offendet solido.

Let us now proceed to the VIIth Satire, *Proscripti Regis Rupili*, &c., which might be supposed (and not without some plausibility) to have been Horace's earliest attempt in Satiric writing, having the scene of its story at Clazomenæ, and in the presence of the great Brutus. In that view M. Sanadon speciously enough assigns for its date a few months before the battle of Philippi, and even discovers, in its juvenile carelessness of composition, an argument to favour that date.

The old Scholiast, however, quoted by Baxter, appears to give a different, and, as I understand it, a very satisfactory account of the matter.

Publius Rupilius cognomine Rex, Prænestinus, commilito fuit Horatii in castris Bruti. Hic ægre ferens quod Horatius Tribunus esset, sæpe ignobilitatem generis illi objiciebat: idcirco nunc eum ex personâ alterius lacerat.

This idea derives additional support and developement from two remarks of the judicious Gesner.

Forte hæc demum post victoriam Cæsarianorum scripta, cum partes Bruti objiceret Horatio recepto, receptus ipse Rupilius: ut Tubero olim Ligario.—Rem non plane recentem commendari versibus, ipsum exordium declarat.

And on Gesner's supposition that Rupilius had thus given offence to Horace at Rome, after they both returned, the VIIth Satire, viewed as a retaliation, will be found not unhappily subjoined as a kind of appendix to the VIth, *Non quia Mæcenas*, &c., which resents (vv. 6—45.) the ill-

natured imputation, ***libertino patre natum***, cast upon him by certain envious detractors.

Assuming this origin of the Satire to be correct, we may accept as literally true, Horace's own account of his beginning to write verse; that he was first driven to it by necessity after the confiscation of his paternal estate;

2 E. II. 51. ——— paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem.

In all the books of Horace, indeed, those of Satires, of Epodes, of Odes, and of Epistles, as the constituent parts now stand arranged in each, I am strongly of opinion, that after a due allowance for much caprice and casualty perhaps, there may still be discovered great ingenuity shown by Horace himself in the close succession by which some pieces are brought together, and not less of skill, judgment, and delicacy in the intentional disjunction of others.

The peculiar consideration here suggested from internal evidence, will support the whole hypothesis of Bentley by a train of argument not perhaps suspected before. To exemplify the nature of that reasoning, let a few clear instances suffice for the present.

Thus the similarity of attachment which Horace bore to both his friends, Septimius and Pompeius, may fairly account for the neighbourly collocation which those two beautiful Odes (2 C. VI, VII.) now occupy.

And thus the general similitude of subject in the two Epistles, XVII. to Scæva, and XVIII. to Lollius, (younger brother to him addressed, *Maxime Lolli*, 1 E. II. 1,) though addressed to two characters *totally dissimilar*, doubtless led to their juxtaposition when published.

Strangely enough, with all the obvious difference between the characters, even Gesner (ad 1 E. XVIII. 1.) is inclined to think that the two persons might be identically the same, and that of the two Epistles as they now stand, the latter

was either a continuation of the former, or arose as a reply out of Scæva's supposed answer to it.

Now is it not clear, on a close comparison, that Lollius, being a young man of rank, the son of a *vir consularis*, hot and high-spirited, was liable to offend by want of due complaisance? With his natural *brusquerie* and his fits of contradictory or unaccommodating humour, he was the most unlikely man in Rome (*scurrantis speciem præbere*) to be mistaken for a sycophant. Scæva, on the other hand, timid apparently and somewhat necessitous himself, with relatives perhaps ill provided for, while he required encouragement to undertake the office of living with the great, might stand no less in need of delicate caution, how to improve his fortunes as the *comes* (v. 52) to a *rex* (v. 43) without meanness and without importunity.

This view of the matter I am happy to find confirmed by Wieland as quoted with approbation by Morgenstern, in a Dissertation to be noticed more particularly by and by. After remarking the skill of Horace *in similibus argumentis tractandis*, he refers for illustration of it to these very Epistles; *Sic Epistolæ ad Scævam et Lollium eandem docent cum principibus vivendi artem: at quam callide diverso utriusque ingenio et conditioni attemperantur præcepta!* p. 61.

The vth Epode on Canidia, is by several others separated from the xviith on the same Beldame: evidently to keep the pathetic and the horrible apart in reading from the invective and ironical.

And to take another example from the same family:

The two Odes (1 C. xvi, xvii.) *O matre pulchrâ*, &c. and *Velox amœnum*, &c. are now generally considered as addressed to one person, the daughter of Canidia, (or Gratidia,) under the Greek name of Tyndaris. Assuming as a fact what is most highly probable, then, in the position of the apology first and of the invitation immediately afterwards,

we instantly see the fine address of the Poet. Once disjoin the two odes in arrangement: by what attraction should they find their way back again?

M. Sanadon, instead of recognising the *criminosi Iambi* (vv. 2, 3.) in the extant Epodes v and xvii, imagines those libellous verses to be lost; and as well in disjoining as in conjoining—on a plan of his own—the different pieces here alluded to, surpasses even his usual reach of extravagance; whereas in the natural succession which is now given to those pieces, 1 S. viii. *Olim truncus eram* ...., (and 2 S. i. 48. *Canidia Albuci, quibus est inimica, venenum.*) Ep. v. *At O Deorum*...; and xvii. *Jam jam efficaci* ...; 1 C. xvi. *O matre pulchrâ* ....; and xvii. *Velox amœnum* ...; the history of all the parties concerned may be read straightforward with every advantage of interest and perspicuity.

It is time to proceed to the iid Book of Satires.

As far however as the personal history of Horace is involved in settling the question of his chronology and localities, I have already anticipated in those pages the principal remarks which belong to this part of the Dissertation. Nor will the reader be displeased, after so extended and discursive a range, to be told that we are now approaching towards the conclusion so far of my original design. A few points only remain to bring matters down to the closing date of the Epodes. And then, the writings of Horace either in the Odes or in the Epistles, when those works are once set in chronological order, may well be allowed to tell the story of his life, which in fact his writings then constitute; illustrated only by a few references to the public annals of Rome.

Let us now, therefore, take up the second book of Satires. At this stage of Horace's history, when he was just possessed

of the Sabine estate, we find him forming grand resolutions as a kind of censor and moralist.

2 S. III. 9. Atqui vultus erat multa et præclara minantis.

He had this year retired on the Saturnalia (v. 5) into the country for leisure and for warmth.

v. 10. Si *vacuum tepido* cepisset villula tecto.

The latter charm we know the country possessed.

1 E. x. 15. Est ubi plus *tepeant hyemes?*

If it be asked what were the causes of that advantage, the *Cato Major* § XVI. may be consulted for explanation: Ubi enim potest illa ætas aut calescere vel *apricatione* melius vel *igni*, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius?—the command of a *sunny position* on the one hand, and the *plenty of fuel* on the other. And it may be remembered that in that famous Epistle (XIV.) on the Sabine farm, Horace tells his *Villicus* that the *Calo* in the city envied him amongst other things (vv. 41, 2.) the ready supply of logs; which at Rome they had not.

——— invidet usum
Lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et horti.

Horace (who reports himself [1 E. xx. 24] *solibus aptum*) when more advanced in years, loved to pass his winters on the sea-coast.

Thus in that fine Epistle to Mæcenas, 1 E. VII. 10—13.

Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris,
Ad mare descendet vates tuus, et sibi parcet,
Contractusque leget; te, dulcis amice, reviset
Cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine primâ.

Incidentally we gather from another Epistle, that to Scæva, (XVII. 52, 3,) that Brundusium and Surrentum also were scenes of resort in winter;

Brundisium comes aut *Surrentum* ductus amœnum,
Qui queritur *salebras* et *acerbum frigus* et *imbres*, &c.

and in that (xvth.) to Numonius Vala, Quæ sit *hyems* Veliæ, quod cœlum, Vala, Salerni, &c. when he thought of going to the cold-baths of the one place or the other, after he has stated (vv. 2, 3.) Antonius Musa's judgment on his case, Mihi *Baias* supervacuas . . . Horace proceeds to tell his friend, that he will have to ride his horse past the hitherto well known houses of call, on the way to Cumæ or Baiæ;

> Mutandus locus est, et diversoria nota
> Præteragendus equus: Quo tendis? non mihi Cumas
> Est iter aut Baias, &c.

To return to the IIId Satire; on the literary design then alluded to, in packing up his books to carry with him from Rome, he did not forget (v. 12) *Archilochus:* and when we come to the Epodes, we shall discover in the assaults on *Mæna* (IV), on *Cassius Severus* (VI), on *Mævius* (X), and on other unlucky objects of his wrath, that in studying under that great master of Iambic bitterness he had learned his trade well;

πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείσσονες διδασκάλων.

as the man said when he stole the Mercury. This fact too, in its way, is demonstrative of the Epodes being absurdly collocated in the old order before the Satires: the fruit produced, and then the tree planted!

Of the VIth Satire (*Hoc erat in votis*, &c.) good use has been made in the former part of this Dissertation, as bearing on the great object, to illustrate the life and localities of Horace: one only remark shall be drawn from it now.

In the golden treatise De Senectute (§ XIV.) old Cato describes in *general* his convivial enjoyments: *Me vero et magisteria delectant*, &c. (he proceeds to transfer the scene into the *country*:) quæ quidem in *Sabinis* etiam persequi soleo; conviviumque vicinorum quotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem, quam maxime possumus, vario sermone producimus.

Yet even Cato's party, in his hour of enthusiasm,

(3 C. xxi. 11, 12. Narratur et prisci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.)

could hardly have enjoyed with higher zest

" The feast of reason and the flow of soul ;"

than Horace gave and received in that delightful society, which at his own villa (Sabine also) he so cordially entertained.

2 S. vi. 65—75. O noctes cœnæque Deûm !——
—— prout cuique libido est,
Siccat inæquales calices conviva, solutus
Legibus insanis : seu quis capit acria fortis
Pocula ; seu modicis uvescit lætius : ergo
Sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,
Nec male necne Lepos saltet : sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, et nescire malum est, agitamus ; utrumne
Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati :
Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos :
Et quæ sit natura boni, summumque quid ejus.
Cervius hæc inter, &c. &c.

With those neighbours of his, to whose cheerful instruction he contributed while yet a *novus incola* among them, he appears to have been a great favourite from his earliest residence. And many years after he first occupied that estate,

1 E. xiv. 2, 3. —— [olim] habitatum quinque focis, et
Quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere Patres,

we find not only every sign of their being reconciled to his superiority, for such it must have been, but the best proofs possible of good sense and good humour on his part and theirs. He amused himself with rustic labour, for which his figure (*pinguis*, 1 E. iv. 15. and *Corporis exigui*, xx. 24.) did not exactly adapt him and they as naturally laughed at his awkwardness.

vv. 37—39. Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
Limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat:
Rident vicini glebas et saxa moventem.

In passing to the *Epodes*, very little appears for remark to my purpose which is not already forestalled. We have seen Horace carry the Poems of *Archilochus* with him for study and imitation into the Sabine valley. And as we know the severe model of correctness in writing which he laid down for himself and enforced upon others, the conclusion is fair, that he had taken most faithful pains with the task, when he afterwards expresses such pride in the execution.

1 E. xix. 21—25. Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
Non aliena meo pressi pede: qui sibi fidit,
Dux regit examen. *Parios* ego primus *Iambos*
Ostendi Latio; numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.

By the bye, Horace has paid himself a compliment here which truth does not warrant. Canidia alone might testify, that when in the Parian vein, Horace wanted neither talent nor bitterness to drive a Lycambes mad.

On the historical bearing of the book of Epodes, nothing can be more satisfactory and singularly distinct than the paragraph quoted in the Chronological Table from Mr. Clinton's Fasti Hellenici, under the year B. C. 31.

It ought however to be remarked, that in the Epodes also Horace by no means intended to arrange the several pieces according to the exact order of time. Thus Epode VII. *Quo, quo scelesti....* contemplates the impending war betwixt Cæsar and Antony as yet distant, and with horror and dismay deprecates such an event. The date of it, therefore, must be carried back as far as other considerations will

allow; and the same remark may be extended to the XVIth Epode, *Altera jam teritur*.... which from similarity of subject might be expected to stand in conjunction with the VIIth, were it not (as we have seen in other cases) for the sake of variety, perhaps, kept separate.

Both those Epodes, in any thing like allusion to the leaders of the great political parties, are obscure now, from the Poet's studied delicacy at the time: as long as any hope remained of healing the breach, Horace was not the man to aggravate the discord. But when matters had come to an open rupture, in that Epode, 1. *Ibis Liburnis*... he testifies at once his personal devotedness to Mæcenas, and his earnest desire to accompany his Patron to the scene of approaching conflict: and in the IXth Epode, *Quando repostum*... on the first news of Cæsar's victory at Actium, Horace naturally addresses Mæcenas in a strain of the most delighted gratulation, yet even then (v. 29) not naming Antony, though he clearly alludes to him; while the disgraceful phenomenon of (Cleopatra's) gauze-curtain, in a scene like that, is represented as moving the indignation even of foreigners to forsake such a leader;

Ep. IX. 15—18. Interque signa turpe militaria
Sol aspicit conopium.
Ad hoc frementes verterunt bis mille equos
Galli canentes Cæsarem.

It was about a year (B. C. 30) after that memorable engagement, when the affair at Alexandria had left Cæsar without a rival, that Horace broke out in his final effusion of joy, 1 C. XXXVII. *Nunc est bibendum* ..., connected with that eventful epoch.

Now that we are advancing from the Epodes to the Odes, it is lucky that Horace in his Epistle, *Prisco si credis*... to Mæcenas, (XIX.) *de suis et Poetastrorum sui sæculi scriptis*, has himself afforded a delicate clue for the transition.

After asserting (VV. 21—25, recently adduced) his claim

to originality in having first adopted Parian Iambics as a Latin poet, he proceeds to defend himself for borrowing an old metre instead of attempting to devise a new one. "Well: and had not Sappho blended her song with the measure of Archilochus? Had not Alcæus likewise partly availed himself of that Poet's metre?"—Alcæus, whom it was Horace's greatest pride to acknowledge as his Master in Lyric verse. In that department also (vv. 32—34) he represents himself as the first adventurer, but content to have his original productions (*immemorata*, elsewhere, 4 C. IX. 3. *non ante vulgatas per artes*,) privately read by the intelligent few: he was too shy or too proud for public recitation and the common modes of courting popularity.

> Ac, ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes,
> Quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem:
> Temperat Archilochi musam pede mascula Sappho;
> Temperat Alcæus; . . . .
>
> Hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
> Vulgavi fidicen: juvat immemorata ferentem
> Ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.

In our next transition, that from the Odes to the Epistles, is it at all surprising, that Horace, when, satisfied with his laurels, he had expressly taken leave of the Lyric Muse at the close of the third book, should adopt the Epistolary form of writing, if any temptation afterwards arose to resume his pen? Now, on the occasions which would frequently arise for communicating with his friends by letter, nothing could be more congenial to the habits of a Poet, than to prefer verse (and that the commonest) as the vehicle: and with Horace in particular, his Odes on various subjects addressed to individuals whom he loved and esteemed, naturally preluded to the more serious and discursive style of argument which marks the Epistles to his friends.

Under these circumstances, and especially considering the

great change of age and character, which the Author had undergone in that interval betwixt the last date of his Satires and the first of his Epistles, the wonder is that any idea should have occurred to a Scholar like MORGENSTERN of writing a formal treatise *De Satiræ atque Epistolæ Horatianæ discrimine* (Lipsiæ, 1801.); when perhaps, unless from the Epistles immediately following the Satires as hitherto published, even he, aware as he was of Bentley's arrangement, would hardly have thought either of contrast or of comparison between them. Unquestionably, however, Morgenstern has rendered one great service to the cause advocated in these pages: no reader of his elegant and generally judicious Essay will ever again be misled by the juxtaposition of the Satires and Epistles to consider the latter as a continuation merely of the former. That source of error and confusion is now finally closed.

To go on with the real succession of Horace's works here recommended to the Scholar's notice; not only, as it has been well observed, " is the writer of the Epistles"—from the " moral turn" of the composition generally—" discerned in the Odes:" but more particularly we may discover also somewhat of the same dexterity with which his Odes are often concluded, in the abrupt but happy conclusion of many of his Epistles. In both classes of writing Horace seldom seeks or regards any plan of regular termination. After saying what he principally thought of saying when he set out, whenever he finds himself arrived at some point which supplies a piquant or pleasant mode of dropping the subject, there he suddenly slips away from his reader; leaving him on the one hand to recall in quick review the train of images which had just been passing before his mind, or on the other, to wind up the argument in its practical inference for himself, with the less of offence given to his vanity and self-love.

To exemplify all this by adducing the passages at full, would be a work of labour. The Odes abound with endings

where the great felicity of art is shown in leaving the reader *con la bocca dolce:* and for Epistles which end hastily with some passing simile or some quaint turn of thought, or with such apparent abruptness as to elicit the comment—*deest conclusio*,—it may be sufficient to refer to the following, 1 E. I, VI, VII, XVII; 2 E. II; and that to the Pisos.

The *Odes* and *Epistles*, it has been truly said, when once placed in the just order of time, may be fairly left to themselves for illustration, as constituting the poetical at once and personal history of Horace. But then the *localities* of the bard are presumed to be already ascertained and fixed: without that essential proviso, even the *chronological* arrangement of his books would fail to exhibit many proprieties and delicacies, entwined in the local circumstances of the party addressing or the party addressed. Is it then too much to arrogate, that the labour now for the first time bestowed on distinguishing the three several residences of Horace, has laid the ground-work at least for a clearer understanding of many of his writings, than ever engaged the speculation of any commentator before?

In this *restitution* of Horace, at first sight, the greatest revulsion is likely to arise on seeing the third and fourth books of Odes here separated by the first book of Epistles. But then the lapse of several years between the third book of Odes and the fourth has been demonstrated as necessary to reconcile the moral and political phenomena, in the mean while produced, to anything like the probable course of human events.

Fortunately, too, the publication of the fourth book of Odes, from many striking points in it, seems to have excited a very early attention. The tradition of Suetonius, for instance, that Augustus felt a strong desire for that high

tribute of fame which a Poet of such talent might confer, carries with it every reasonable evidence of truth, as to the origin of the Poems alluded to.

Scripta quidem ejus usque adeo probavit, mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est, ut non modo Sæculare carmen componendum injunxerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum; eumque coëgerit propter hoc, tribus Carminum Libris *ex longo intervallo* quartum addere.

Other considerations too may here deserve our regard. The very mixture of articles, in matter certainly baser, if not in execution, compared with so much magnificence in the principal Odes of the ɪᴠth book, is enough to indicate something extraordinary. In the few words of Gesner indeed prefixed to that book of Odes, the whole secret is thus briefly told.

Mihi sic videbatur: cum semel placuisset novum librum edere, in eum conjectum esse quidquid ad manus erat.

But it may be asked: on what ground is the *Carmen Sæculare* in this arrangement entitled to precede the fourth book of Odes? Since Bentley (*u. s.* ¶ 5) himself mentions them in a different order, and what is more, ad Car. Sæc. v. 16, distinctly calls the sixth Ode of that book, *Dive, quem proles....*, "quasi præfatio (and very truly) et commendatio" to the Secular Ode itself. I answer thus. From the very nature and object of that great occasional poem, it must have been separately published in the year (ʙ. ᴄ. 17) assigned to the celebration of the *Ludi Sæculares;* whereas of the fourth book of Odes, from the peculiarity of its constituent parts, there could be no collective publication till some two or three years after that date.

Need I here bestow a moment's notice on the pomp and conceit with which, out of various lyric pieces of the Poet, Sanadon, and after him Anchersen, have arbitrarily constructed a *drama quoddam sæculare* of their own. Justly, yet mildly enough, is their audacious absurdity, in thus

raking together materials in character as in date hetero-geneous, rebuked by Gesner in his introduction to the C. S. "Mirum sane, si carmina unius argumenti, eodem tempore scripta, ita spargi per libros plures potuere!"

Arising from the fourth book, a stronger line of remark, it appears to me, yet remains to be traced. No *Prologos* or *Epilogos* attends this collection of Odes, such as we have read in the former books, or like the formal conclusion (*Vertumnum Janumque..*) attached to the first book of Epistles. Gesner, one of the most judicious of critics on Horace, in the few lines of comment prefixed to the Ode:

3 C. xxx. *Exegi monumentum ære perennius, &c.*

very calmly but very acutely observes, on a declaration so proud and so final;

Videtur Horatius hâc Ode finire omnino voluisse libros carminum. Hinc vetus Scriptor vitæ ait coactum ab Augusto tribus carminum libris *ex longo intervallo* quartum addere.

But how comes it to pass, it may be asked, that in the fourth book of Odes the name of Mæcenas is no where by direct address recorded?

Diminution of kindness in the generous patron, or abatement of gratitude in the honest-hearted client, cannot for a moment be imagined. My solution of the difficulty, for such it may seem, shall be stated very briefly.

After the manner in which Horace had celebrated the noble qualities of Mæcenas in his Satires, Epodes and Odes to the 3d book inclusive, could any addition of compliment be expected from the most grateful of men and the most felicitous of writers?

And yet, if the first book of Epistles be justly placed after the third book of Odes, as in our chronology it follows next, a great accession of honourable testimony was yet to

come, in the 1st, 7th and 19th Epistles of that most curious and valuable book. As establishing the character of Horace on the basis of sincerity and independence even under the deepest sense of obligation, that one Epistle (VII.) *Quinque dies tibi pollicitus, &c.*, which apologizes for his protracted absence in the country during the hot season, remains a lasting and beautiful monument. Nor in the evidence which it bears to the sterling good sense and high-minded generosity of Mæcenas, is it to be regarded as reflecting less honour, but if possible more, on that (with all his foibles) most excellent man. We are morally sure, that the VIIth Epistle was published by Horace himself in the life time of both. What then, in any age, should be the estimation of the Poet who could address, and of the Patron who could receive—publicly too, let it be added—the frank and affectionate boldness of language like this?

vv. 33. 39. Macra cavum repetes arctum, quem macra subisti.
Hâc ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno:
Nec somnum plebis laudo satur altilium, nec
Otia divitiis Arabum *liberrima* muto.
Sæpe verecundum laudasti: Rexque Paterque
Audisti coram, nec verbo parcius absens:
Inspice, si possum donata reponere lætus.

But to return to the question: how comes it, that in the fourth book of Odes, the name of Mæcenas occurs once only (XI. 19) and then by oblique introduction?

Whoever has perused with any care the various addresses to Mæcenas in every style of writing down to that splendid Ode:

3 C. XXIX. Tyrrhena regum progenies, &c.

will hardly fail, in the grand and impressive exordium:

1 E. 1. Primâ dicte mihi, summâ dicende Camœnâ, &c.

to recognise at once the settled purpose of Horace: it was the intended farewell (and meant for the long futurity of

fame elsewhere predicted) of the Poet to his Patron. We know, that *Qui fit, Mæcenas, &c.* (1 S. I.) stood the first of Horace's edited works; we are here told, that Mæcenas was worthy of all celebration in the last. This last then of the collected Epistles, last not in collocation, but in time, carries with it many strong indications, especially in v. 10,

Nunc itaque et versus et cætera ludicra pono:

of its having been devoted by Horace as the ultimate offering of his muse. And in that respect, so far as regarded the Patron, the Poet never altered his purpose. Whatever he afterwards wrote, is left to stand separately on its own inscription and title, insulated as it were, and posthumous to the great body of his works: which he certainly had meditated to complete in the two books of Satires, the one of Epodes, the three of Odes, and the one of Epistles.

Mæcenas was Horace's only patron: and the Poet has succeeded in leaving that recorded indelibly.

Even in regard of Augustus, it may sound somewhat extraordinary, and yet it is perfectly true, that in the common meaning of that term he never was the patron of Horace. Except in those words imputed to Suetonius, *unâque et alterâ liberalitate locupletavit,* there exists no evidence of Horace having owed anything to the patronage of the Emperor. Virgil and Varius, beyond a doubt, were deeply indebted to that Prince's generosity. And Horace, who felt a service done to a friend as a kindness conferred on himself, has in that beautiful address to Augustus *in favorem sui temporis Poëtarum,* made the acknowledgement, to the honour of all parties concerned.

2 E. I. 245—7. At neque dedecorant tua de se judicia, atque
Munera, quæ multà dantis cum laude tulerunt,
Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poëtæ: &c.

Can it be believed, that if Horace had himself owed any

substantial obligation to so munificent a Prince, he would have left no vestige of thankful expression behind him? No such vestige exists in his writings.

Horace's temper, in truth, was that of the most happy contentedness and gratitude. In the Satire, 1 S. VI. *Hoc erat in votis*....when the man of letters, (being one, as he calls himself, 2 C. XVII. 29, *Mercurialium* virorum,) puts up his prayer to Mercury, v. 5, *Maiâ nate*....as to his patron God,

v. 15. ——utque soles, *custos* mihi *maximus adsis*;

he invokes the patronage on this one condition,

v. 13. Si quod adest, *gratum* juvat,..

that for his present blessings he is truly grateful. And in a passage also of a much later date, otherwise remarkable for its moral beauty, that point is distinctly put forward.

2 E. II. 210, 11. *Natales grate numeras*? ignoscis amicis?
Lenior et melior fis accedente senectâ?

At an early period the bounty of Mæcenas had made him abundantly rich, with an understood readiness at any time to give more, if more should be needed.

Ep. I. 31, 2. Satis superque me benignitas tua
Ditavit: &c.

2 C. XVIII. 11—14. ——nihil supra
Deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
Largiora flagito,
Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.

3 C. XVI. 37, 8. Importuna tamen pauperies abest:
Nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges.

And even the concluding words of the Ode last quoted—

——Bene est, cui Deus obtulit
Parcâ quod satis est manu.

express a sentiment quite characteristic of his happy though humble competence. But his father had with singular success fixed that principle in his son's mind, which regulated his own; *to make what he had suffice him:*

> 1 S. IV. 107, 8. Cum me hortaretur, parce, frugaliter, atque
> Viverem uti *contentus eo quod mî ipse parasset, &c.*

Agreeably to this, Horace no where betrays the least indication of difficulty and complaint, or any apprehension of want from his means failing (*vitio culpâve*, 2 S. VI. 7): and, exempt himself from that inordinate love of riches under which some of his friends laboured, he gently lashes that passion in them, quite secure from any retaliation or retort. Thus, for instance, in his Epistle from the Sabine Villa, *Urbis amatores*.... he addresses Aristius Fuscus, pointedly enough, on the wisdom of contentment;

> 1 E. X. 44—46. Lætus sorte tuâ vives sapienter, Aristi:
> Nec me dimittes incastigatum, ubi plura
> Cogere quam satis est ac non cessare videbor.

Beautiful, however, as these expressions of personal sentiment are, and familiar to the readers of Horace, his golden maxim, NIL ADMIRARI (1 E. VI. 1) has more strongly arrested general attention, as conveying in two words the whole secret of moral wisdom; not to set the heart on objects of fanciful worth,

> By attribùting overmuch to things
> Less excellent. (Par. Lost, VIII. 569.)

but to form the just estimate *rerum mediocriter utilium*, (1 E. XVIII. 99,) that is, of the non-essentials to happiness.

And may we not now, on viewing this part of Horace's character, particularly as connected with what we have seen (p. 31.) of his cheerfully participating in all rural acts

of sacrifice, go a step farther still? May we not pronounce that even in that dark state of all true theology, Horace had the grateful feeling of religion, however obscurely as to the objects of it, and that he was right in the *subjective* gratitude, though he was wrong in the *objective* devotion?

The connection, from causes curious and rare, of Mæcenas's name with the town of Tivoli, has been auspicious to the developement of Horace's principal locality in that romantic spot. For not only has that admirable Ode, 3 C. XXIX. *Tyrrhena regum*.... afforded subject almost for demonstration, that Horace invited Mæcenas to dine at Tivoli: but that beautiful and from its allusion, pathetic Ode, 1 C. XX. *Vile potabis*, *&c.* according to an old tradition recorded by the commentator in Cruquius, and credited by Torrentius, was occasioned by a journey of Mæcenas into Apulia.

Mæcenas iturus in Apuliam, significavit Horatio, ei se ante profectionem convivam esse velle: cui respondet Horatius, se quidem non habere vinum generosum, sed benigno tamen animo ei exhibiturum vinum quod habebat Sabinum. De profectione in Apuliam mentio fit in Divæi codice.

On the supposition of such a journey, is it at all credible, that the prime minister would ask Horace to give him a dinner at Rome before he set out? Is it not far more natural to conceive, that Mæcenas had told his friend to expect him at Tivoli to dinner, as he would pass by the *Via Valeria*, (Cramer. I. 142. II. 260,) and that Horace on such a hint, really having a cask of Sabine wine there with so delightful a remembrance attached to it,

—— datus in theatro | cum tibi plausus, &c.

wrote in reply the delicate and well turned invitation in that Sapphic Ode?

One more association shall serve to connect the mention of Mæcenas as Horace's friend with that of Tivoli: for the very disputable name of *Mæcenas's Villa* in that place may well be discarded [a]. The want of direct evidence for it and still more its incompatibility with the total silence of Horace, justify to my mind the rejection of such an idea without scruple and without the formality of an argument.

But for Augustus an unquestionable title may be set up, not only as an admirer of the spot, but as an occasional resident there, most probably, however, in the later years of his life. Tivoli, it is well known, was sacred to Hercules. Now amongst the favourite retirements of that Emperor, Suetonius, C. 72. reckons the *proxima urbi oppida, Lanuvium, Præneste, Tibur:* in the last mentioned of these towns, *in porticibus Herculis templi* persæpe jus dixit. Behold then the very scene, to which Mæcenas's attention was called, when Horace thought of appealing to the case of a retired veteran most like his own.

1 E. I. 2—6. Spectatum satis, et donatum jam rude quæris,
Mæcenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Non eadem est ætas, non mens. Vejanius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus *agro*,
Ne populum extremâ toties exoret arenâ.

When Horace himself at Tivoli wrote thus, he had Vejanius then actually in retirement there before his eye.

And now it is high time to bring these extended remarks to the promised conclusion, or at least to show good cause for protraction if necessary.

A chronological table, then, of the principal incidents in the earlier part of Horace's life, with the years assigned by

[a] Forsyth. *Excursion in Italy*, p. 272, ed. 1813.

Bentley for the composition of his several books, shall here be given; and that not only as a clue to guide the reader through the details of the Dissertation, but also as a help in referring to the columns of Mr. Clinton's invaluable Fasti.

It will be necessary, however, to premise, that Bentley's years of the life of Horace, here printed in Roman figures, were by him calculated in a peculiar way. Thus the year of Horace's nativity, B. C. 65. though he was born in the last month of it, in Bentley's reckoning stands as the year I of his age, the year after it as II, and so on to the end of Horace's life.

Instead of taking the *natal* year, Mr. Clinton makes B. C. 64. the first of his calculation, that is the *current* year till completed in December.

In the following happy sketch given by Horace of his character and personal history, (and it has not been adduced before,) how ingeniously does he contrive to afford the calculation of his age, by giving the year B. C. 21. though now past, from its commodiousness for expressing in verse as well the period of his own life (44) as the consular names belonging to it.

1 E. xx. 20—28. Me libertino natum patre, et in tenui re,
Majores pennas nido extendisse loqueris;
Ut quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas;
Me primis urbis belli placuisse domique;
Corporis exigui, præcanum, solibus aptum;
Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.
Forte meum si quis te percontabitur ævum,
Me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres,
Collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.

No attempt is here pretended to exhibit an exact chronology of Horace's life with a regular parallel to it in the events of Roman history, and in the incidents which mark the biography of contemporary poets. A desideratum like

that would demand a volume for itself. But in the chronological table subjoined to these pages, it is hoped that any historical knowledge directly required for the illustration of Horace, whenever clear intelligence can be had, will seldom be found wanting.

In the meanwhile, however, with a more critical view to the *Tempora Horatiana* of Bentley, it will be exceedingly necessary to keep in mind, that the years which he has determined for the composition of the several books of Horace, in his own naked statement are liable to many cavils, against which he has left neither caution nor defence. He should have told us, for instance, that in drawing up that calculation he kept his eye principally or entirely on internal marks of *public* history, while to dates connected, with the life or death of *individuals*, however distinguished, he (apparently) paid little regard, and in short that all which he engaged to do, was to fix the *earliest* and *latest* allusion of an *historical* kind which could be discovered in the book of Horace then before him. All this (but no more than this) he executed well and faithfully. Let us understand, therefore, what his intention exactly was: it was a negative rather than a positive determination in the dates which he ascertained.

Thus when he leaves an interval of three years betwixt XXVIII for the *first* book of Satires and XXXI for the *second;* he never could intend to say, that during those three years Horace's pen lay entirely idle: he meant (and he could mean nothing else) that the very *latest* historical intimation which he had been able to discover in the first book, did not fall lower down than XXVIII of Horace's age, and that the very *earliest* intimation of any public event contained in the *second* book did not rise higher than XXXI of that calculation.

With this important qualification constantly attached to all the intervals apparent in Bentley's *Tempora Horatiana,*

several objections immediately disappear; as others again may be overcome by considerations of a different kind.

1. And first of all, to take a strong instance.

When the *death* of *Virgil* is by Mr. Clinton assigned to B. C. 19. an acute objector may ask; how, then, could an Ode of invitation to Virgil (4 C. XII.) *Jam veris comites*, &c., possibly be written in any of the years B. C. 17, 15. the very *cancelli* within which Bentley has fixed the composition of the *fourth* book of Odes? My answer is this, (and Mr. Clinton thinks it just and satisfactory,) that Horace, after publishing the *third* book of Odes in B. C. 23 or 22. had evidently imagined his lyric labours then concluded: nor had he any design, apparently, till called upon by Augustus several years after, to resume the task of the lyre. But in the interval which ensued, what should hinder him when writing a playful and in some peculiar touches (vv. 15, 25.) rather a keen address to Virgil, from using once more the lyric stanza? Its insertion afterwards in the *fourth* book of Odes was all natural enough: it would else never have been known to exist. For the old Scholiast tells us on the Ode (IV) *Qualem ministrum*, &c. *Hæc est ecloga propter quam totus hic liber compositus est.* And Gesner's sensible remark who had no hypothesis to serve, has been already quoted: *cum semel placuisset novum librum edere, in eum conjectum esse quidquid ad manus esset.*

2. The *death* of *Quintilius Varus Cremonensis*, that incomparable critic and friend, that *censor honestus*,

(A. P. 438. *Quintilio si quid recitares, &c.*)

to whose integrity of advice and severity of taste the two great poets were so much indebted, is lamented by Horace in a tone of the deepest feeling and regret, 1 C. XXIV. Ad Virgilium, *Quis desiderio sit pudor*, &c. The year assigned to that event by Hieronymus (F. H. p. 237.) is B. C. 24.

Now as Bentley's allowance of time for the *first* and *second* books of Odes runs down as low as B. C. 25. the disagreement in this solitary example might not be valid (or might not be pleaded) against his chronology.

But it is far more candid and ingenuous at once to confess, that where any difficulties, created by the details of *biography*, depend on the authority of Hieronymus alone, I am rather reluctant to submit; partly, because the author of the Fasti Hellenici has himself in cases of that kind detected several inaccuracies; and partly on a more general ground of reasonable doubt. Mistakes in the dates of birth or death, &c. in a distant age, where *private* persons are concerned, may well be expected and excused; because without some *public event* or other to rest upon, such dates must often float loose as it were for want of anchorage.

3. A remarkable instance of error in the biographical dates of Hieronymus, occurs in his account of Lucilius the Poet as born B. C. 148, and as dying in 103. With this date of his birth two well attested facts are grossly at variance: the one on the authority of Velleius Paterculus, II. 9, 4. "Celebre et Lucilii nomen fuit qui sub P. Africano Numantino bello *eques* militaverat," B.C. 134. in which year Lucilius, so dated, must have been a boy under age; and the other, told by Horace of his personal friendship, when already known as a bold Satirist, with the younger Scipio, who died in B. C. 129.

2 S. I. 62—74. ——— Quid? cum est Lucilius ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
Detrahere et pellem, nitidus quâ quisque per ora
Cederet, introrsum turpis; num Lælius, et qui
Duxit ab oppressâ meritum Carthagine nomen,
Ingenio offensi? aut læso doluere Metello,
Famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? Atqui
Primores populi arripuit populumque tributim;
Scilicet uni æquus virtuti atque ejus amicis.
Quin ubi se a vulgo et scenâ in secreta remôrant
Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Læli;

> Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
> Decoqueretur olus, soliti.

Now all this could never be true of Lucilius, if he had been then, as the calculation would make him, barely in his nineteenth year.

Mr. H. F. Clinton is led by these and other considerations to "assume that the birth of Lucilius was a few years earlier, and his death a few years later, than the date of Hieronymus." Additions and Corrections to Vol. III. given in Vol. I. pp. 426, 7.

4. Still, however, supposing these points in *biography* to be cleared up, as we trust they are, yet on the other hand if Bentley's Chronology can be any where shown to be incompatible with well ascertained *facts* of *history*, there can be nothing left for us but to surrender at discretion.

First of all, however, a very important caveat may well claim to be admitted here.

Historical language is precise, direct and plain, free from all question or ambiguity. The allusive language of *Poetry*, especially where the Poet's eye is at all frenzied with pride and patriotism, beholds the future in the present and transmutes symptoms into successes.

On this hint let me have the indulgence to speak. In the year B. C. 20, and not before, F. H. p. 240. (1 E. XVIII. 55. Sub duce, qui templis Parthorum signa refigit | *Nunc*, &c.) the standards of Crassus were actually restored by the Parthians; that is the declaration of history: but as early as B. C. 34, and long before any thing was effected about the standards, the language of Horace might lead one to suppose that satisfaction was even then on the point of being obtained. 2 S. v. 62. Tempore quo *juvenis Parthis horrendus*....and in the Ode (2 C. IX.) *Non semper imbres* .... more distinctly still.

VV. 18—22. ——et potius nova
> Cantemus Augusti tropæa
> Cæsaris; et rigidum Niphaten,

> Medumque flumen gentibus additum
> Victis, minores volvere vortices; &c.

Horace in B. C. 25. at the latest, *seems* to refer to the great and memorable submission from the East as already acquired: and if it be so taken, that date of the Ode cannot be true.

But then we know the gall of bitterness in which the Roman people for so many years reflected on the disaster of Crassus;

> 1 C. II. 21, 2. Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
> *Quo graves Persæ melius perirent*, &c.

> 2 C. I. 29—32. Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
> Campus sepulchris impia prœlia
> Testatur, *auditumque Medis*
> Hesperiæ sonitum ruinæ?

We may imagine the zeal therefore with which the rumours, even of any chance to retrieve that disaster, would be quickly caught up and cherished. Generally speaking, the Roman marched only to conquer; and an expedition meditated or threatened was a conquest achieved.

It is in this light accordingly we understand the prayer of Horace,

> 1 C. XXXV. 29—32. Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
> Orbis Britannos, et juvenum recens
> Examen Eois timendum
> Partibus Oceanoque rubro.

and the *boast* at a later day, but long enough before its accomplishment,

> 3 C. V. 1—4. Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
> Regnare: præsens Divus habebitur
> Augustus, adjectis Britannis
> Imperio gravibusque Persis.

History with correct simplicity assures us (F. H. p. 238.) that in B. C. 23. Tiridates being then at Rome, on an embassy arriving from Phraates, Augustus seized the occasion,

among other peremptory points, to demand the restitution of the standards: and to the natural expectation of prompt compliance which such a demand would create, Mr. Clinton thinks may be referred the splendid stanza last quoted where hope is at once converted into certainty.

Only then allow it probable, that in an earlier year than B. C. 23. some loud and sudden report might arise from similar causes at work in that oriental scene (Geo. II. 496. *Infidos agitans discordia fratres*) between the two rival princes,

1 C. XXVI. 5. Quid *Tiridaten* terreat...

2 C. II. 17. Redditum Cyri solio *Phraaten*..

Allow this probability: and after all, the *nova Augusti tropæa* (never *literally* gained, for no war ensued) may rather have been anticipated by the Poet, than require to be earlier dated by the Chronologist.

5. The localities of Horace are closely entwined with the dates of his writings; and without much scruple therefore, the following and final question here may be allowed admission, at the close of others more immediately falling under the head of Chronology.

3 C. XIII. *O Fons Bandusiæ, &c.*

M. de *Chaupy* in his Decouverte de la Maison de Campagne d'Horace, à Rome. 1769. T. III. p. 364. first announced the discovery of the words...*in Bandusino fonte apud Venusiam*, &c. in a grant from Pope Pascal II. A.D. 1103; and he was not a little proud, after his manner, to demonstrate, that this fountain must have been (and that no other could be) the Fons Bandusiæ of Horace's Ode. And Mr. *Hobhouse* in his *Illustrations* of Lord Byron's *Childe Harold*, 1818, pp. 42, 3, rather delights in adopting so brilliant a detection.

"The Bandusian fountain is not to be looked for in the

Sabine valley, but on the Lucano-Apulian border where Horace was born.

"The vicissitude which placed a Priest on the throne of the Cæsars, has ordained that a Bull of Pope Pascal the Second should be the decisive document in ascertaining the site of a fountain which inspired an Ode of Horace."

About so minute a concern long disquisitions here would be tedious and unnecessary. For in the first place, Mr. *Dunlop's* solution (History of Roman Literature. 1828. Vol. III. p. 213.) seems calculated to set the matter at rest very easily.

"The probability is, that Horace had named the clearest and loveliest stream of his Sabine retreat, after that fountain which lay in Apulia, and on the brink of which he had no doubt often sported in infancy."

And secondly, in confirmation of Mr. Dunlop's conjecture, I may be forgiven for inserting part of a Letter of my own on this very point of difficulty, familiarly written in the year 1824.

"Let the *Fons Bandusiæ* (now the *Fonte Bello*) of the Sabine valley, flow on with all its honours!

"For as to the Ode of Horace (3 C. XIII.), it tallies admirably with the idea of his christening what had no name before, after the romantic spring, which had a name, not far from Venusia, and which he had loved when a child."

"From 1 E. XVI. 12.

Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus,

you may perhaps gather that this fountain had no name whatever, till Horace gave it one. The *rivus* lower down was certainly called *Digentia*, now *Licenza*.

1 E. XVIII. 104. Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus, &c.

The *classical verisimilitude* of my conjecture that Horace called his Sabine fountain, from natural love and liking,

after the old spring near Venusia, you can hardly deny; if you will but turn to a beautiful part of the *third* Æneid."

302. ——*falsi Simoentis* ad undam.

349. 351. Procedo, et *parvam Trojam*, *simulataque* magnis
Pergama, et arentem *Xanthi* cognomine *rivum*
Agnosco, *Scææque* amplector limina *Portæ*.

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

HORACE.

Before Christ.	Year of Horace.		Authorities and allusions.
65	—	HORACE born, 8 Dec. near Venusia, in the Consulship of Manlius Torquatus	2 S. I. 34, 5. Ep. XIII. 6 3 C. XXI. 1. 4 C. IX. 2.
60	5	His adventure when a child	3 C. IV. 9—20.
53 52	12 13	Is carried by his father to Rome for education.	1 S. VI. 71—6.
49	16	His father dies about this time.	
48	17	Battle of Pharsalia.	
		He takes the Toga Virilis.	
47	18	He goes, as to an University, to Athens	2 E. II. 43.
46	19	Cato, at Utica, kills himself	1 C. XII. 35, 6.
44	21	Julius Cæsar assassinated.	
43	22	Horace leaves Athens, to join the standard of Brutus, as *military tribune*	1 S. VI. 48. 2 E. II. 46.
42	23	——— calidus juventâ | Consule Planco ...	3 C. XIV. 27, 8.
		shares in the defeat at Philippi, and in the confiscation that followed	2 C. VII. 7—9. 2 E. II. 49—51.
		His friend Pompeius Varus betakes himself to Sextus Pompeius, then master of Sicily ...	2 C. VII. 15.
41	24	In the winter 42 | 41 he returns to Rome, having been nearly shipwrecked off Cape Palinurus	3 C. IV. 28.
		becomes acquainted with Virgil and Varius; is by them introduced to Mæcenas	1 S. VI. 54, 5.
		obtains his patronage, and is admitted to his friendship..	Ibid. 61, 2.

Before Christ.	Year of Horace.	*The first Class of his Writings.*	Authorities and allusions.
		The first book of Satires.	
		Years of Horace ... XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, R. B.	
		= 25, 26, 27, Fast. Hell.	
		B. C. 40, 39, 38, [37, 36].	
		The second book of Satires.	
		Years of Horace ... XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII. R. B.	
		= 30, 31, 32, F. H.	
		B. C. [37, 36,] 35, 34, 33.	
38	27	In the spring, Horace enjoys the journey to Brundusium.	1 S. V.
36	29	Is enriched by Mæcenas with the Sabine estate	2 S. VI.
		War renewed with Sextus Pompeius, (*dux Neptunius*,) his defeat and flight afterwards alluded to..	Ep. IX. 7—10.
		Division of lands, towards the close of the Sicilian war; (in the winter 36 | 35.)......	2 S. VI. 55, 6.
33	32	The Ædileship of Agrippa........................	2 S. III. 185, 6.
		The book of Epodes.	
		Years of Horace ....XXXIV, XXXV. R. B.	
		= 33, 34. F. H.	
		B. C. 32, 31.	
32	33	The war impending betwixt Cæsar and Antony	Ep. VII.
31	34	Horace desires to accompany Mæcenas to the war: the battle of Actium, Sept. 2.	Ep. I.
		On the first news of the victory he addresses Mæcenas	Ep. IX.
		In this year probably Horace rents or buys the Cottage and Garden at Tivoli.	

Before Christ.	Year of Horace.	*The second Class of his Writings.*	Authorities and allusions.
		The first book of Odes.	
		Years of Horace...XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII. R. B.	
		= 35, 36, 37, F. H.	
		B. C. 30, 29, 28, [27.]	
		The second book of Odes.	
		Years of Horace ....XL, XLI. R. B.	
		= 39. 40, F. H.	
		B. C. [27,] 26, 25.	
		The third book of Odes.	
		Years of Horace ....XLII, XLIII. R. B.	
		= 41, 42. F. H.	
		B. C. 24, 23, [22, 21.]	
30	35	Death of Antony and Cleopatra	1 C. XXXVII.
29	36	End of the civil wars: the Temple of Janus shut.	
		The deliberation about restoring the republic, and that allegory, *O navis referent*...composed	1 C. XIV.
27	38	On the Ides of January (13th) the appellation of Augustus conferred on Cæsar: in the following night a storm and inundation. (vid. Append. iv.)	1 C. II.
		Augustus goes into Spain: he appears also to have meditated an expedition to Britain ...	1 C. XXXV. 30.
25	40	After the Cantabrian war, the Temple of Janus shut a second time by Augustus......	4 C. XV. 8, 9.
24	41	Augustus returns from the war in Spain	3 C. XIV. & VIII. 21, 2. 1 E. XVIII. 55, 6.
23	42	An Embassy from Parthia: allusion supposed to it	3 C. V. I. 4.
21	44	M. Lollius, the Elder, Consul: Horace completes his 44th year	4 C. IX. 1 E. XX. 27, 8. 39.

Before Christ.	Year of Horace.	*The third Class of Horace's Writings.*	Authorities and allusions.
		The first book of Epistles.	
		Years of Horace............XLVI, XLVII. R. B.	
		= 45, 46. F. H.	
		B.C. [22, 21,] 20, 19, [18.]	
		The Carmen Sæculare, and the fourth book of Odes.	
		Years of Horace............XLIX, L, LI. R. B.	
		= 48, 49, 50. F. H.	
		B.C. [18] 17, 16, 15.	
20	45	The Roman Eagles actually restored from Parthia	1 E. XVIII. 56, 7. and 2 E. I. 256. 4 C. XV. 6—8.
		The Armenians subdued,	
19	46	and the Cantabri finally so.	
		Cantaber Agrippæ, Claudi virtute Neronis Armenius cecidit....................................	1 E. XII. 26.
		The Epistles III, VIII, IX. written while Tiberius is in the East, and not later than this year.	
		The death of Virgil.	
17	48	*Ludi Sæculares*, for the fifth time, celebrated.	
		In this year, the Carmen Sæculare, and that prelude to it 4 C. VI. *Dive, quem proles...* written.	
15	50	Horace marks his 50th year (as 2 C. IV. 23,.4. his 40th).	4 C. I. 6.
		Augustus remains in Gaul; and reduces the Sicambri.	
		His triumphal return, anticipated by Horace, did not take place till B. C. 13.	4 C. II. 33—44.
		Tiberius (*Major Neronum*) and Drusus subdue the Rhæti and the Vindelici.	4 C. IV. and XIV. 8—14.

Before Christ.	Year of Horace.	*The fourth Class of Horace's Writings.*
		The second book of Epistles, containing the two to Augustus Cæsar, and to Julius Florus; with the Epistle to the Pisos, called *de Arte Poetica.*
		ANNIS INCERTIS.
8	57	vto Kalendas Decembres, On the 27th of November, within a few days of completing his 57th year, Horace dies.

N.B. By the numbers here inserted in brackets as [37, 36] &c., it is intended to show, agreeably to what is already stated in p. 82, that the years left void by Bentley in his Chronology of the works might belong indifferently to the composition of the preceding or the subsequent Book.

APPENDIX I.

HORACE'S FAMILIAR DAY,

AND ROMAN CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH IT.

In the xxvith year of his age, B.C. 39. let us date the 6th Satire of the first book, keeping in mind also, that a summer's day is the object of description, and that as he begins his story after *luncheon*, the *cibus meridianus* (Sueton. August. 78.) or *prandium*, so he brings us round to the same point again.

1 S. vi. 111—129.

——— quàcunque libido est,
Incedo solus, percontor quanti olus ac far;
Fallacem circum, vespertinumque pererro
Sæpe forum; assisto divinis; inde domum me
Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum:
Cœna ministratur pueris tribus; et lapis albus
Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; astat echino
Vilis cum paterà guttus, Campana supellex.
Deinde eo dormitum, non solicitus, mihi quod cras
Surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se
Vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
Ad quartam jaceo; post hanc vagor; aut ego, lecto.
Aut scripto quod me tacitum juvet: ungor olivo,
Non quo fraudatis immundus Nacca lucernis.
Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
Admonuit, fugio Campum lusumque trigonem.
Pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani
Ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. Hæc est
Vita solutorum miserà ambitione gravique.

1. Here then vv. 111—114, Horace, after a simple luncheon, instead of sauntering about at home, as at other times he

might do, (v. 128. *domesticus otior,*) indulges in a walk into the city, careless and unattended; asks the price of garden-herbs and bread-corn; rambles about the Circus and the Forum, looking at the amusements and tricks which those places afforded, and especially stopping to observe the fortune-tellers (probably the de "circo *astrologi*" of Tully, de Divin. i. 58.) in the pursuit of their craft: for it must not be supposed that by the words, *assisto divinis,* Horace could possibly mean

"I go to church and pray,"

as Creech has most absurdly translated it; raising ideas in the mind of the reader, to which there was nothing correspondent in the religious services of Rome.

2. By this time, the evening hour approaches, (already v. 114. *vespertinum,*) and sends him home to *dinner.* That meal, *cœna,* consists of vegetable dishes and a kind of pancake: the boys who wait at table are three, evidently considered a very small number, (even ten slaves formed but a moderate *familia,* 1 S. III. 12). The marble slab holds two goblets for wine and water, with a measuring-cup: by the rinsing-bowl is set an oil-cruet and a *patera* for libation, plain ware all of them.

3. After the meal thus described, in his earliest and simplest style of living at Rome, he retires to bed, free from all uneasiness as to rising betimes, because under no necessity to visit the statue of Apollo and Marsyas, that is, to attend the Courts of Justice, in the morning.

4. From his couch, after some hours spent as usual in study, (*lecto aut scripto quod tacitum juvet,*) he does not rise till towards ten: he then strolls into the Campus Martius, and prepares himself (*ungor olivo*) for exercise, specifically that of the *pila velox* or the *lusus* called *trigon.* As the day becomes too sultry, he withdraws from the Campus to bathe, doubtless in the Tiber hard by. The next and

final stage of the story carries him home to his luncheon; soon after which it was that this sketch of his familiar day first took him up.

Under these four heads there arise not a few subjects of curious remark.

And first of the *luncheon;* for breakfast *(jentaculum)* usually they had none. With Horace, after such a morning's work as we have seen, agreeably to his own precept, 2 S. II. 14, 15.

> Quum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis,
> Sperne cibum vilem—*if you can,*

that meal was quite plain and merely enough for its necessary purpose, to pacify the stomach till the late dinner time.

> Pransus non avide quantum interpellet inani
> Ventre *diem durare*..vv. 127, 8.

Elsewhere he thus describes such a frugal meal,

> 2 S. II. 17. ——— cum sale panis
> Latrantem stomachum bene leniet....

which just agrees with Seneca's account, (L. XII. Epist. 84. Ed. 1573.) Panis deinde siccus et sine mensâ prandium; post quod non sunt lavandæ manus.

For the luxurious palate very different provision was made. Even fish (as from that beautiful Satire, 2 S. II. *Quæ virtus et quanta, boni*.. we gather incidentally) was a requisite of the table.

> vv. 16, 17. ——— Foris est promus, et atrum
> Defendens pisces hiemat mare......

and the choicest wine sweetened with the finest honey formed its accompaniment.

> vv. 15, 16. ——— nisi Hymettia mella Falerno
> Ne biberis diluta.

The learned Professor of Gastronomy (2 S. IV. Unde et

quo *Catius?*) gravely advises to finish with mulberries gathered in the morning.

vv. 21—23. ——— Ille salubres
Æstates peraget, qui nigris prandia moris
Finiet, ante gravem quæ legerit arbore solem.

But instead of so strong a wine mixed with honey, which he very rationally condemns, we have a weaker mixture (*mulsum*) recommended.

vv. 24—27. Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
Mendose: quoniam vacuis committere venis
Nil nisi lene decet: leni præcordia mulso
Prolueris melius.

In passing next to the *dinner*, the time of it deserves our first attention. Horace, who professed (2 S. VII. 23.) to admire the *mores antiquæ plebis*, agreeably to that profession and to the still general custom, dined at a late hour. So did the lawyers, whether the *Consultus juris* or the *Actor causarum*, A. P. 369, 70; whose business either in the courts or at their own houses, kept them engaged till the evening. What says Horace to a supposed aspirant?

1 E. VI. 20. Gnavus mane forum, et *vespertinus pete tectum*.

and thus in his invitation to Manlius Torquatus:

1 E. V. 3. *Supremo* te *sole* domi, Torquate, manebo.

id. 30, 1. Tu quotus esse velis, rescribe: et *rebus omissis*
Atria servantem postico falle *clientem*.

Such was the case with all persons, who either would not or could not sacrifice business to pleasure. In conformity with that principle, Mæcenas also adhered to the old custom.

2 S. VII. 32—34. ——— Jusserit ad se
Mæcenas *serum sub lumina prima* venire
Convivam....

are the words of Davus to his master.

And hence it comes, that whenever an early hour in that age is mentioned, some imputation is conveyed also of indulgence and excess: for luxury in the higher ranks had, for prolongation of convivial enjoyment, gradually carried back the hour of dining towards the middle of the day. Without pretending to trace the origin and progress of fashion in this respect, we may appeal to Tully's authority about 45 B. C. as apparently decisive that *three* was then a fashionable hour for the voluptuous.

Epist. ad Divers. IX. 26. Accubueram *horâ nonâ*, cum ad te harum exemplum in codicillis exaravi. Dices, ubi? apud Volumnium Eutrapelum; et quidem supra me Atticus, infra Verrius, familiares tui. Miraris tam exhilaratam esse servitutem nostram ..... Infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit, &c. &c.

At the time that Horace wrote the second book of Satires (B. C. 34.) it should appear from his account of that famous entertainment, 2 S. VIII. *Ut Nasidieni*, &c., that the luxurious hour for dining must have been at least as early as *one* or *two:* what he says to Fundanius, who was in the number of the guests on that day,

> Nam mihi quærenti convivam dictus here illic
> *De medio* potare *die*.......

even with some allowance for hyperbole, can hardly be otherwise interpreted.

Long after, in the age of Martial, *three* had become the regular hour. Epigram. IV. 8.

> Imperat extructos frangere *nona* toros......

and Juvenal mentions, evidently with severity of remark, the practice of Marius to begin at *two*.

> Sat. I. 49, 50. Exul *ab octavâ* Marius bibit, et fruitur Diis
> Iratis....

Thus much for the hour at which Horace usually took

his dinner. On the constituents of his humble meal enough has been said elsewhere, Prel. Diss. pp. 56—58. It is not to be denied, however, that from this habitual average both of diet and of time he frequently deviated; but the confession of gaieties and follies in the following characteristic passage, from the mention of his favourite but short-lived Cinara, (4 C. XIII. 21, 2. Cinaræ *breves* | *Annos* fata dederunt.) may be received as belonging to a brief period only in the heyday of his life.

1 E. XIV. 32—36. Quem tenues decuere togæ nitidique capilli,
Quem scis immunem Cinaræ placuisse rapaci,
Quem bibulum liquidi mediâ de luce Falerni,
Cœna brevis juvat, et prope rivum somnus in herbâ;
Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum. [*sc.* puderet.]

For a specimen of his company and the preparations for their entertainment, that delightful Epistle to Torquatus (1 E. v. *Si potes Archiacis* . . .) happily supplies so much of particular and interesting description; that it may be as well to present the following extracts to the reader's eye.

vv. 4–6. Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustres
Inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum.
Sin melius quid habes, arcesse, vel imperium fer.

v. 7. *Jamdudum* splendet focus, et tibi *munda* supellex.

vv. 9—11. —— cras nato Cæsare festus
Dat veniam somnumque dies; impune licebit
Æstivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.

vv. 21—26. Hæc ego procurare et idoneus imperor, et non
Invitus; ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
Corruget nares; ne non et cantharus et lanx
Ostendat tibi te; ne fidos inter amicos
Sit qui dicta foras eliminet; ut coëat par
Jungaturque pari.

Here first of all we have an example of good-natured arrangement proposed betwixt the host and his principal guest: "you hear what kind of wine I profess to give: if

you have any better, order it to my house: [arcesse—*ad me.* Vet. Schol.] or be content with what I offer you."

With Virgil again we shall find him playfully bargaining to produce a finer and costlier wine on condition of his friend's bringing to the dinner a richer perfume. (The costliness of unguents in that age may be estimated by their being one of the common causes of ruin to the vain and the gay. 1 E. XVIII. 22. *Gloria* quem *supra vires* et vestit et *unguit.*)

4 C. XII. 17, 18. Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,
Qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis.

Catullus on the contrary (XIII. *Cœnabis bene, mi Fabulle, apud me*) offers the very choicest perfume to Fabullus, if he will bring the materials of a good dinner along with him.

Another variety of good fellowship is presented to us in that Ode 3 C. XIX. *Quantum distet ab Inacho*... where the Poet incidentally gives the principal requisites of a dinner, for which the richest wine was to be purchased at the common expense, Quo Chium pretio cadum | Mercemur: what friend's house was to have the preference, Quo præbente domum; and as it was a day in winter, the provision of a warm room against an assigned hour, Quotâ | Pelignis caream frigoribus; form other points of consideration. The words, *Quis aquam temperet ignibus*, in such a context can bear but one meaning, that on a wintry day they would naturally mingle hot water with their wine. The "calidæ gelidæque minister" of Juvenal (S. v. 63.) would have had but half his province on a day like that in the very depth of winter.

The 7th line of the Epistle *Jamdudum*... forcibly reminds one of the Ode to Mæcenas, (3 C. XXIX.) by that expressive word, but still more by contrast in the preparation there made by the Poet to receive his patron.

VV. 2—5. Non ante verso lene merum cado
Cum flore, Mæcenas, rosarum, et

> Pressa tuis balanus capillis
> Jamdudum apud me est. . . .

where for once his invitation includes choice wine, garlands of roses, and unguents of exquisite odour, such articles as never occur in like manner mentioned elsewhere.

The lines next quoted from the Epistle serve incidentally to show, that Horace for that year at least staid in the city over the birth-day of the Great Julius; then observed as a *dies festus* by cessation from business and affording opportunity in its eve for a longer night of cheerfulness than his friend the lawyer could otherwise have enjoyed. The day itself (F. H. B. C. 100) fell on the 12th of July, quarto Idus Quintiles: and on the preceding evening the sun would set at Rome nearly at seven o'clock of our reckoning. This particular may here deserve notice, if it be only to introduce one remark; that as the natural or solar day with them was divided into twelve hours (from the Ist to the XIIth) of different length at different seasons, I may be excused in trusting to the intelligence of the reader for more exact calculation, whenever in these pages the Roman hour is assumed generally as answering to our own, on the well known scale, at the time of the Equinox.

> Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas.
> Geo. i. 208.

The remaining lines of the Epistle sufficiently exemplify that charm of the *mundæ pauperum cœnæ*, superadded to the more essential taste in selecting a party of congenial spirits; which to the humble triclinium of Horace, neat but narrow, (such the *lecti* of *Archias's* making seem to have been,) must have imparted a peculiar attraction, beyond the purchase of luxury and opulence.

In the usual arrangements of his time, Horace never appears to have been what we call a late sitter-up for literary purposes: nor was such the general custom of the Romans. Of Augustus, however, the contrary practice is recorded (Sueton. in August. 78.) partly for the completion of his regular journal, and partly from his dislike, as a bad sleeper perhaps, to early rising. A cœnâ lucubratoriam se in lecticulam recipiebat... Matutinâ vigiliâ offendebatur.

To his morning studies Horace must have paid assiduous application, as we see him on his couch *ad quartam* engaged in the *lucubratio matutina;* and again when appealing to his own habits in the cultivation of self-knowledge, towards the conclusion of that admirable Satire,

1 S. IV. 133, 4. ——— neque enim, cum *lectulus* aut *me*
Porticus excepit, desum mihi.

Elsewhere too, at a much later period of life, he playfully tells of himself,

2 E. I. 111—113. Ipse ego qui nullos me affirmo scribere versus,
Invenior Parthis mendacior; et *prius orto*
Sole vigil, calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.

And in the hortatory address to his young friend Lollius, when he solemnly recommends the task of moral reflection; the morning hour, as a matter of course, is mentioned for that purpose.

1 E. II. 32—37. Ut jugulent hominem, surgunt de nocte latrones;
Ut teipsum serves, non expergisceris? Atqui
Si noles sanus, curres hydropicus: et ni
Posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
Intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis;
Invidiâ vel amore vigil torquebere.

Before we dismiss this description of Horace's familiar day, which has unavoidably run to a great length of detail, two or three additional remarks may suffice to conclude the subject.

A course of daily life like that here delineated could hardly be supposed to glide along without considerable varieties. One such, and of frequent occurrence probably, is presented to us in the Satire, 1 S. IX. *Ibam forte Viâ sacrâ* . . . Horace must have taken that walk into the city some two hours before the usual time that he quitted his morning couch: for when he and his tormentor had gone as far as the Temple of Vesta, the fourth part of the day then having elapsed (v. 35. quartâ jam parte diei | Præteritâ) it would be nine o'clock of our reckoning; which seems to involve a different disposition of the forenoon altogether.

Nor are we to imagine that Horace did not occasionally take his share abroad in the morning duties of common life. The *officiosa sedulitas* in attending levees (1 E. VII. 8.) and the *opella forensis* in giving bail for a friend, &c. (*ibid.*) were certainly not unknown to him. For the *salutandi plures* (1 S. VI. 101.) is what he deprecates as one of the troubles consequent on the supposition of a higher parentage; and the words, 2 S. VI. 27. quod mî obsit, clare certumque locuto, *after answering in the court, to my own detriment, perhaps*, may fairly attest that his good nature now and then intangled him in the losses which proverbially belong to suretyship in all ages of the world. A kind-hearted man like Horace, therefore, would understand very well what it meant,

A. P. v. 423. Spondere levi pro paupere . . .

nor could he to the supposed son of opulence have put the touching question,

2 S. II. 103. Cur eget indignus quisquam, te divite?

had he not felt his own heart experimentally alive on that very key.

His bathing as here stated, in the river Tiber, was what followed the forenoon exercise, in the Campus, of a young man, and at that season of the year;

2 S. I. 7, 8. —— Ter uncti
Transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto.

3 C. XII. 9. Simul *unctos Tiberinis* humeros *lavit* in *undis*.

And it must therefore be carefully distinguished from the common use of the warm bath *(balneum)*, at all seasons, which took place in the afternoon, immediately before dinner.

Though in his familiar day at Rome, before he got the Sabine estate, he represents himself as usually dining alone; yet after that accession to his means, we find him for the sake of society frequently entertaining certain persons who were glad to earn a dinner by their wit. Thus, as Mæcenas at the entertainment given by Nasidienus took with him his *umbræ* the two *scurræ*, Servilius and Vibidius, (2 S. VIII. 21, 2,) so Horace at home had similar dependents on his hospitality. Such was the fashion of the day: and the description is ludicrous enough, of the parasites going off without their errand, whenever the Patron on the sudden sent for the Poet to dine with him at a late hour on the Esquiline Hill.

2 S. VII. 36. Milvius et scurræ, tibi non referenda precati,
Discedunt.

If it be asked whether the habits of the rural population in respect of their meals corresponded to the *mores antiquæ plebis* of the city, it may be briefly answered, with some probability, in the affirmative.

Martial, for instance, allusively represents the wife of the great Curius in that early age,

VI. 64. ——— dum *prandia* portat *aranti*:

and to this traditional story of the *luncheon* we may fairly subjoin Horace's contemporary account of the principal meal or *cœna* at the close of the day's work.

Ep. II. 39—48. Quod si pudica mulier. . .
Sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum
Lassi sub adventum viri.
* * * * *
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio,
Dapes inemtas apparet; &c.

In Horace's age, it is here asserted, that the Romans usually took no breakfast. Of such a point minuter examination for different periods may well be excused. From the epigrams of Martial, however, while it appears, that for general use he recommends the *caseus Vestinus*, (XIII. 31,) we also learn that boys rising at a very early hour had that allowance in a cake or biscuit made for the purpose.

XIV. 223. Surgite, jam vendit pueris jentacula pistor,
Cristatæque sonant undique lucis aves.

At the other end of the day, the genuine debauch of the luxurious was not completed without a final carouse, which also had its proper appellation; and in Suetonius's Life of Vitellius (§ 13.) we are informed, that the imperial gourmand sometimes contrived to dispatch the whole four, "facile omnibus sufficiens vomitandi consuetudine," though with him every meal was a feast. That quaternion and the order of it, in a fictitious line to aid the memory, may thus be expressed:

Jentaculum, dein *prandium*, post *cœnam comissatio*.

APPENDIX II.

ON THE SABINE VALLEY AND THE SECOND EPODE.

"Strictness of morals and cheerful contentedness were the peculiar glory of the Sabellian mountaineers, but especially of the Sabines and the four northern cantons: this they preserved long after the ancient virtue had disappeared at Rome from the hearts and the demeanour of men."—*Niebuhr's Rome*, Vol. I. ch. VI. p. 85.

Of the second Epode

Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis. . .

I have already spoken, P. D. 29, as in its *general* character drawn from Horace's personal acquaintance with the Vale of Licenza: and this is true of the local as well as of the moral features. The rural picture however, though generally sketched from his own valley, is not so much the veritable portrait of one scene as a composition landscape from many. Thus, the *vine* and the *olive*, vv. 9—12; 55, 6. though not then grown there, P. D. 33, are introduced by the painter to enrich his tablet; while the same old *ilex* of which it is said elsewhere,

1 E. XVI. 10. —— multâ dominum juvat umbrâ,

evidently belonged to the spot, and gave its occasional shade to the reclining Poet.

vv. 23, 4. Libet jacere modo sub antiquâ *ilice*,
Modo in tenaci gramine.

For the materials of full and exact description, indeed, we must look to that Epistle, 1 E. XVI. *Ne perconteris* ... and to part of XIV, *Villice, sylvarum* ... as well as to 2 S. VI. *Hoc erat in votis* ...; sources of information, without which many cir-

cumstances brought forward in the former part of these pages must have remained unknown to us. Whenever Horace touches the subject, he marks it with some trait of peculiarity; and in that view the following passage also may be here adduced,

1 E. x. 6. —— ego laudo ruris amœni
Rivos et *musco circumlita saxa* nemusque,

as being certainly descriptive of the Sabine valley; and not of Tivoli, to which place even Fuscus, the *urbis amator*, would hardly deny the merit of its commanding beauties.

The delineation of rural life demands a larger share of our notice. It has been already remarked, P. D. 29, that in the Sabine country Horace never describes any immoralities nor alludes to any as existing there. In the person of his Alfius, and in reference to such intrigues and profligacy, as then too much belonged to the city character,

vv. 37, 8. Quis non *malarum* quas *amor curas* habet,
Hæc inter obliviscitur?

he converts the exemption from those evils into a theme of positive gratulation.

In a similar tone, indeed, but on a larger scale, we find Horace in the Ode 3 C. XXIV. *Intactis opulentior* . . contrasting the moral superiority, so supposed, of the rude Scythian over the cultivated citizen of Rome,

vv. 9, 11. Campestres melius Scythæ
* * * *
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ. . .

while the great Tacitus more fully and with greater spirit, as that period warranted, pursues the same topic, in his comparison of civil with savage life. But both the Poet and the Philosopher are evidently led by their strong dislike of Roman vices to overcharge their eulogy of Barbarian virtues. The latter in many parts of his Germany has,

in fact, left us rather an oblique and grave satire on his Countrymen than a well authenticated panegyric on the Germans.

It is not, therefore, from high-flown praises like these bestowed on the uncivilized character in spite, as it were, to the degeneracy of the civilized, that one would think of deriving any trustworthy evidence to exalt the rural population of Italy. To the testimony of Virgil and of Horace also, on the other hand, when directly and sincerely lauding that moral excellence which they had themselves witnessed in the country people around them, no exception can be taken. Beyond recording the plain truth, as in itself delightful to contemplate, they could have no intelligible motive for overcolouring the picture, except in the pure and patriotic love of those natural virtues which after all formed the true basis of the greatness and the glory of Rome.

It is unnecessary to call the reader's mind to the whole of that splendid passage which forms the conclusion of the second Georgic, v. 459, *O fortunatos nimium* . . . but for illustration of our present purpose these detached pieces may suffice.

513—515. Agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro:
Hinc anni labor: hinc patriam parvosque nepotes
Sustinet: hinc armenta boum, meritosque juvencos.

523, 4. Interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati:
Casta pudicitiam servat domus.

And then, how masterly, how complete, in detail as in principle, is the interior which he has here painted!

Æn. VIII. 407-413. Inde ubi prima quies medio jam noctis abactæ
Curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum,
Cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minervâ
Impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignes,
Noctem addens operi; famulasque ad lumina longo
Exercet penso; *castum ut servare cubile
Conjugis, et possit parvos educere natos.*

To this animated picture from Virgil, here is a pendant from Horace, distinctly and spiritedly done with a few vivid touches.

Ep. II. 39—44. Quod si *pudica* mulier in partem juvet
Domum atque dulces liberos,
(Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Appuli,)
Sacrum et vetustis exstruat lignis focum
Lassi sub adventum viri.

Then too, in that Ode, 3 C. VI. *Delicta majorum* . . . after lamenting the profligate manners of high life in his own day, what a noble turn does the solemn reflection take, when he thus reverts to the greatest of Roman victories, and to that discipline of the rustic home and parentage, which formed the future soldier to achieve them!

vv. 33—46. Non his juventus orta parentibus
Infecit æquor sanguine Punico,
Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum Annibalemque dirum:
Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas, et severæ
Matris ad arbitrium recisos
Portare fustes; sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras, et juga demeret
Bobus fatigatis, amicum
Tempus agens abeunte curru.

APPENDIX III.

ON MÆCENAS AND THE FIRST ODE OF THE FIRST BOOK.

"Mæcenas was the wisest counsellor, the truest friend, both of his prince and his country, the best governor of Rome, the happiest and ablest negotiator, the best judge of learning and virtue, the choicest in his friends, and thereby the happiest in his conversation, that has been known in story: and, I think, to his conduct in civil and Agrippa's in military affairs may be truly ascribed all the fortunes and greatness of Augustus, so much celebrated in the world."—*Sir W. Temple, Upon the Gardens of Epicurus, &c.*

MÆCENAS as personally connected with Horace, will form the limited subject of this article. The connection of that great minister with the affairs of Rome belongs to Roman history, or to a very ample biography of the Statesman at once and the Patron of literature. In the latter view, the *Mæcenas* of *J. H. Meibomius, sive de C. Cilnii Mæcenatis vita, moribus, et rebus gestis, liber singularis.* 1653. presents a vast collection of interesting materials, which might however have been more happily disposed.

Of Horace's first introduction to the acquaintance and favour of Mæcenas, P. D. p. 58; of his being enriched by him with a Rus and *Villula* in the Sabine Valley, p. 21; of his earnestly begging to share the dangers of the war along with him, p. 34; of his invitation to his noble friend in that grand Ode, *Tyrrhena regum* ... p. 41; of Mæcenas as the Patron and only Patron of Horace, p. 58; and of the association of his name with Horace and Tivoli, p. 79; enough has been said on the several occasions here referred to. But the personal connection of these illustrious men, even within the bounds so prescribed, will admit

of many topics variously calculated to illustrate the merits of the one and the gratitude of the other.

Singularly enough, the first mention in point of time perhaps, which the pen of Horace has left of Mæcenas, and certainly the very last introduction of his name, (to say nothing of 2 C. XVII. *Cur me querelis* ... and of all the intermediate demonstrations,) bear striking testimony to the early and late affection, which united the Patron to the Poet on terms of the most familiar attachment.

Thus, in 1 S. III. *Omnibus hoc vitium est*... Horace has to display the perverseness with which an uncandid construction of character is too often indulged; and he exemplifies in his own case the offence which persons, less generous and less judicious than Mæcenas, would have taken at such freedom as the Statesman when interrupted bore with perfect good humour.

vv. 63—66. Simplicior quis, et est, *qualem me sæpe libenter*
Obtulerim tibi, Mæcenas, ut forte legentem
Aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone molestus?
Communi sensu plane caret, inquimus.

After the continuance for five and twenty years of a friendship begun in such a spirit, and at a period of his writings (P. D.) when new topics for direct address could hardly be expected, Horace thus beautifully and not the less so for the oblique way of introducing it, in the Ode to Phyllis, marks the celebration of Mæcenas's birth-day.

4 C. XI. 13—20. Ut tamen nôris quibus advoceris
Gaudiis; Idus tibi sunt agendæ,
Qui dies mensem Veneris marinæ
Findit Aprilem;
Jure solennis mihi, sanctiorque
Pæne natali proprio; quod ex hâc
Luce *Mæcenas meus* affluentes
Ordinat annos.

Of that genuine frankness, the touchstone by which sin-

cerity betwixt two friends may be tested, we have already witnessed (P. D. 75.) an admirable proof; where Horace remonstrates with Mæcenas on his protracted absence in the country having been made the subject of complaint. In the following lines,

1 E. I. 94—105. Si curatus inæquali tonsore capillos
Occurri, rides: si forte subucula pexæ
Trita subest tunicæ, vel si toga dissidet impar,
Rides. Quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum?
Quod petiit, spernit; repetit quod nuper omisit?
Æstuat et vitæ disconvenit ordine toto?
Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?
Insanire putas solennia me, neque rides,
Nec medici credis nec curatoris egere
A prætore dati; *rerum tutela mearum*
Cum sis, et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem
De te pendentis, te respicientis amici.

we discover a yet bolder tone of expostulation, but involving at the close an acknowledgment of deep and cordial devotedness which only such a benefactor by a long series of kindness could have created; while protestation like this from Horace against Mæcenas for inconsistency (somewhat overcharged, perhaps) in showing such extreme nicety as to the proprieties of his dress and so little solicitude as to the prudence and sanity of his conduct, may well be recorded as the result of a freedom accumulated during the intimacy of many years.

With the advantage of such dispositions on the one side and the other, no wonder that the relationship of the *major* and the *minor amicus* proceeded so happily. And Horace, who with excellent sense could instruct Scæva and Lollius (1 E. XVII. XVIII.) how to live with the great, avoiding offence and maintaining respectability, would himself in the Palace of Mæcenas easily steer without a pilot.

But not only was the personal character of Mæcenas in this relation of the man of rank to the man of genius

all that friendship could desire: the whole plan of his select establishment (Præsertim cautum dignos assumere, pravâ Ambitione procul, 1 S. vi. 51.) was marked with liberality and wisdom, and admitted of no cabal, of no rivalry whatsoever.

1 S. ix. 49–52. ——— Domus hàc nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis: nil mî officit unquam,
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior; est locus uni-
Cuique suus.

In other great families, the bane of such intrigues, we know, demanded all the caution of an experienced adviser to warn the young *Comes* against it.

1 E. xviii. 78–83. Fallimur, et quondam non dignum tradimus: ergo
Quem sua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri;
Ut penitus notum, si tentent crimina, serves,
Tuterisque tuo fidentem præsidio: qui
Dente Theonino cum circumroditur, ecquid
Ad te post paulo ventura pericula sentis?

Of Mæcenas's general vigilance and high talents as a statesman, (in that office, *pluribus laboribus jactatus,* Tacit. Annal. xiv. 53,) history may be left to speak: but to the same point Horace from personal knowledge incidentally testifies in so strong a manner, that in justice to both parties his evidence should be brought forward.

Mæcenas's common hour of dining, we have already seen, on Horace's authority, (App. i. p. 98,) was late in the day, and evidently so for the sake of public business: when that was over, if he wanted the society of a cheerful friend, a hasty invitation from the Esquiline was sent down to Horace. His being one of the party at Rufus's very early dinner, (App. i. p. 99,) we must consider as a deviation from usual practice, which at times could not well be avoided.

Both from that Epistle (1 E. vii. *Quinque dies...*) and that Ode (3 C. xxix. *Tyrrhena regum..*) it appears that

Mæcenas remained at his post in the city during the worst month, that of August, and over it.

In the former, Horace descants on the dangers to others which he had not the strength or the courage to encounter himself.

vv. 3—6. Si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem ;
Quam mihi das ægro, dabis ægrotare timenti,
Mæcenas, veniam ; dum ficus prima calorque
Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris.

In the latter, Horace when inviting Mæcenas to Tivoli, as we have seen, (P. D. 79.) thus marks the sultriness of the season, and the political anxieties which engaged him at Rome.

vv. 17—20. Jam clarus occultum Andromedæ pater
Ostendit ignem ; jam Procyon furit,
Et stella vesani Leonis,
Sole dies referente siccos.

vv. 25—28. Tu, civitatem quis deceat status,
Curas ; et urbi solicitus times,
Quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors.

On a different occasion, (3 C. VIII. *Martiis cœlebs..*) when Horace invites his noble friend to join him on the calends of March in commemorating his deliverance from that peril of the tree, after showing in the Stanzas, vv. 17—24.

Mitte *civiles* super urbe *curas*....

that he had no cause then for alarm in the aspect of foreign affairs, the Poet concludes with exhorting him in his *unofficial* capacity, *privatus*, to enjoy a brief respite (must not the passage be so interpreted?) from attention otherwise due to the interests of clients and friends.

vv. 25—28. Negligens, ne quâ populus laboret,
Parce privatus nimium cavere :
Dona præsentis cape lætus horæ, et
Linque severa.

From the view taken of Mæcenas on this broad scale, let us turn to that Ode of dedication, by which more than by any other tribute to his name he has hitherto been so well known to the admirers of Horace.

The Ode (1 C. I. *Mæcenas atavis..*) has very much laboured under one misinterpretation and one false lection which may deserve the regard of the critical reader.

I. In the text of this edition, the lines which follow.. *evehit ad Deos*, with a full stop after those words, stand thus punctuated.

vv. 7—14. Hunc si mobilium turba Quiritium
Certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;
Illum, si proprio condidit horreo
Quidquid de Libycis verritur areis;
Gaudentem patrio findere sarculo
Agros, Attalicis conditionibus
Nunquam dimoveas, ut trabe Cypriâ
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.

If the true sense, as received by many editors, be determined by that punctuation, it may be asked: how came the passage ever to be interpreted otherwise? I feel no scruple then in imputing to two distinct causes all the error into which any of the commentators have been misled: partly, to their not being aware that *Gaudentem*...is justly employed to designate a separate character, *Him who delights* (like *Desiderantem* quod satis est..3 C. I. 25, *Him who bounds his desire* by a competency; *Fulgentem imperio..* 3 C. XVI. 31. *Him who has* the splendid government, &c., &c.), and yet more, to the disregard of a great peculiarity frequent enough in the best Greek and Latin authors; namely, that after two or more specific subjects of thought are expressed, they do not seek, as modern nicety requires, some such mode of concluding the sentence, as may belong in common to all the notions that precede, but boldly and almost carelessly conclude it with what is strictly proper to that subject only which comes immediately last.

This observation will of course be made more intelligible by two or three clear examples, and those from Horace, than by all the definition in the world.

In the following passage for instance,

2 S. II. 10—13. ——— Vel, si Romana fatigat
Militia assuetum Græcari, seu (A) pila velox,
Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
Seu te (B) discus agit, (b) pete cedentem aëra disco:

it is evident, that whereas the preamble supposes two kinds of game, the *pila* and the *discus*, the exercise of the latter is expressly inculcated, that of the former is virtually understood.

Let us proceed to a second case.

3 C. II. 6—11. ——— illum ex mœnibus hosticis
Matrona (A) bellantis tyranni
Prospiciens, et adulta *virgo* (B),
Suspiret, Eheu! ne rudis agminum
Sponsus (b) lacessat regius asperum
Tactu leonem........

In this scene, one of highly poetic conception, the royal mother has no correlative object of apprehension separately assigned: the *virgo* has, her betrothed prince.

That Ode to Fortune (1 C. XXXV. *O Diva, gratum....*) will furnish another instance.

vv. 9—16. Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,
Urbesque, gentesque, et Latium ferox,
Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt *tyranni*,
Injurioso ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam, neu *populus* frequens
Ad arma cessantes, *ad arma*
Concitet, imperiumque frangat.

Here, all the parties recounted have their causes of alarm in the vicissitudes of fate: but that cause which belongs to

the two last, and that alone, the dread of popular insurrection, is specifically developed.

In the passage which it is our object here to elucidate, there are three different characters proposed who are not to be tempted from their respective attachments, the proud candidate for public honours, the already rich importer at home of corn from Libya, and the contented yeoman

Paterna rura bobus exercens suis.

The splendid prize of temptation offered to each is wealth "beyond the dreams of avarice," but only to be won by his becoming a *nauta*, i. e. the adventurous *mercator* on the dangerous main. And here evidently enough, abhorrence at that offer, clogged with such a condition, would most naturally strike the third character described; being hardly attributable in the same degree to either of the preceding parties, since, to gain ulterior ends of ambition or opulence, even they might possibly be allured by so magnificent a prospect.

When the passage is once placed in this clear and satisfactory light, it seems quite wonderful how the true interpretation, which turns on *Gaudentem*, (as old at least as the time of Glareanus,) could ever have been so strangely missed, and modes to evade it, by otherwise interpreting the earlier part of the Ode, with such perverse ingenuity devised.

II. The true reading at v. 29. of TE *doctarum* ... on necessity arising from internal evidence, against ME and the MSS., after the assent of scholars generally given, may now take its place as it were by acclamation. The following brief hints in favour of it, being partly novel also, may not be unacceptable.

1. To the interrogation of J. Jones, who edited Horace in 1736. "Si jam *Diis mistus* esset *superis* Horatius, cur se Mæcenatis suffragio cohonestari cuperet?" nothing like a sufficient answer ever has been or can be given.

2. The antithetic use of *Te* and *Me* in the passage before us obviously breathes the favourite manner of Horace, particularly in concluding his pieces. Take as three instances, 1 C. XII. 53. 57. *Ille . . . Te.* 2 C. XVI. 33. 37. *Te . . . mihi.* 4 C. II. 53. 54. *Te . . . Me.* Other examples may be easily found.

3. Elsewhere, Horace appropriates, for *lyric* poetry, not the *ivy*, but the *bay*, both to himself and to Pindar.

2 C. VII. 19. Depone sub *lauru meâ.*

3 C. XXX. 15, 16. . . . . . et *mihi* Delphicâ
Lauro cinge volens Melpomene comam.

4 C. II. 9. *Laureâ* donandus Apollinari.

4. To the term *doctarum* and the propriety of its application no objection can be raised: for Mæcenas again and again is addressed by Horace with the high compliment of *elegant learning.* That qualification, united with rank and generosity like his, rendered him what his very name now indicates, the excellent Patron of excellent Poets.

But is *Diis* miscent superis, so applied, objectionable? What language then do we find in Virgil? To Pollio, at once his critic and his patron, tamquam *Deo,* he meditates sacrifice.

Bucol. III. 84, 5.

Pollio amat nostram, quamvis est rustica, musam:
Pierides, vitulam *lectori* pascite vestro.

5. Again, should any impropriety be alleged in giving the *hedera* to Mæcenas as the *Patron* of literature and the *Man of taste;* two authorities for such application from a Poet and a Scholar of our own, Mr. Pope and Dr. Bentley, the more striking for being quite unintentional, shall here be adduced.

Essay on Criticism, vv. 705, 6.

"Immortal Vida! on whose honour'd brow
The *Poet's bays* and *Critic's ivy* grow."

Dedication of Horace to Lord Oxford, ***towards the end.***

Si quæris subscribi statuis PATER ACADEMIARUM; si dicto Principis fidem imples, quo LITERATORUM FAUTOR publice audivisti; hæc Te cura quandoque tangat: hæc *edera* inter olivas tuas circum tempora Tibi serpat.

Whoever wishes for more of literary disquisition on the merits of this question, and on the much disputed point who it was that originally suggested the reading TE, is referred to *Quæstiones Venusinæ*, No. VI. Gent. Mag. Sept. and Dec. 1835, and Jan. 1836; to *Dr. James Douglas's* very learned *Dissertation* on the first Ode, in the British Museum, (King's Library, 4 Y. 3); and above all to *F. A. Wolf, Analecta Literaria*, Vol. I. pp. 261—276. and Vol. II. pp. 282, 3. 566—571.

To *Wolf*, also, (Vol. I. p. 266, Note,) before dismissing the subject, let my obligation be acknowledged for pointing out from Muretus the true sense of v. 20, in the first Ode, certainly not in general correctly understood.

"*Demere partem de solido die*, sine ulla dubitatione est *meridiari*, i. e. ipso meridie horam unam aut alteram dormire; quod qui faciunt, diem quodammodo frangunt et dividunt, neque cum solidum et ὁλόκληρον esse patiuntur. Varro alicubi (de R. R. 1, 2, 5.) vocat *diem diffindere insiticio somno*." Muret. Opp. T. I. p. 530. [Ed. Ruhnken.]

An oft quoted passage from Tully presents us with several curious particulars in a very small compass, the *lucubratio* relinquished and the *meridiatio* adopted, B. C. 44. during his stay in the country.

Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operæ, et lucubrationes detraxi, et meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam.—2 De Divinat. 142.

APPENDIX IV.

ON AUGUSTUS CÆSAR AND THE SECOND ODE, *JAM SATIS TERRIS.*

THE notion of this well-known poem having been written on account of the prodigies which followed the assassination of Julius Cæsar, it is hardly necessary to refute; if it be but for a moment recollected, that Horace himself was at Athens in that year (B. C. 44.) and in the following years was serving under Brutus, as *tribunus militum*. The argument of Sánadon, (following up a suggestion of Dacier,) who grounds it on facts recorded by Dio, seems to afford as complete a satisfaction perhaps, as such a question in this age can well admit.

That historian informs us, (L. LIII. 16, 20.) that in the night of that day, the Ides of January, B. C. 27, on which the high appellation of *Augustus* was conferred on Octavianus Cæsar, the Tiber swollen (after a thunderstorm probably enough) overflowed the lower parts of Rome with a tremendous inundation. Whatever prognostic of Augustus's future greatness might, if Dio reports it aright, be formed by soothsayers, Horace appears to have been led into a very different train of sombre reflection. He construes that awful visitation into a divine call for new measures to expiate the accumulated guilt of so continued a civil war. *Scelus expiare* (it is most justly remarked by Gesner)—hic non est punire interfectores Cæsaris; hoc olim factum erat, satisque parentatum illi sanguine tot hominum: sed purgare a scelere, ab impietate bellorum civilium, rempublicam, et pace firmare atque concordiâ. Hæc res cum hu-

manis viribus major videatur, Deorum alicui negotium uti det Jupiter, rogant Romani, ut Apollini, &c.

Thus interpreted, the only passage which might subject Horace to any charge of seeming to prompt vindictive severity against his own comrades at Philippi, falls to the ground; and the sentiments which he expresses on other occasions at that period of his life, will be found in perfect harmony with the explication here given.

In the Ode before us, his lamentation embraces all parties. v. 21. Audiet *cives* acuisse ferrum, &c. and similarly in that Ode, 2 C. I. beginning

> *Motum* ex Metello consule *civicum*,

the language is quite impartial;

> vv. 4, 5. *Arma* | Nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus.

and

> vv. 29—31. Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
> Campus sepulchris *impia* prœlia
> Testatur, &c. . . .

while the concluding stanzas of 1 C. xxxv. 33—40.

> Eheu! cicatricum . . . ferrum.

appeal to a religious kind of feeling, deeply characteristic, which at that time prevailed; that in atoning for any domestic national crime the great healing course was to do their country service by hazarding life against its unconquered foes.

The most dreadful example of such a principle operating is supplied by Tacitus, Annal. I. 49. who in that well-known narrative tells us, how, after the ringleaders of the mutiny had been massacred by their fellow soldiers as a test of their return to duty, the surviving perpetrators of the deed instantly conceived this wild turn of enthusiasm.

Truces etiam tum animos cupido involat eundi in hostem, *piaculum* furoris: nec aliter posse placari commilitonum

manes, quam si pectoribus impiis honesta vulnera accepissent.

We may now return to *Augustus* so entitled; first however premising, that a title like that, of sacred majesty, was not likely at the first to be given as his designation in common. Accordingly, even in the second book of Odes it occurs once only, (2 C. IX. 19, 20.) and that in conjunction with the name *Cæsar:* in the third book, only once alone (3 C. V. 3.) and that in a very peculiar context. But in progress of years, as might be expected, the Epistles and the fourth book of Odes show it to have then become familiar enough to stand alone as a personal appellation in the language of verse. Let this rather minute detail serve for the correction of a slight error and oversight in Bentley, (De Temporibus, § 6,) while it is impossible not to acknowledge some confirmation thus afforded to his general theory.

It can hardly be necessary here to remark, that several of the Poet's allusive meanings, clear enough at the time, especially those on matters of state, have from the studious delicacy of his language since vanished into thin air. The famous Ode, 1 C. XIV. *O navis, referent* ... adduced by Quintilian as a good example of allegory, has found an ingenious solution (the only one at all consistent with our chronology or with probability otherwise) in this happy conjecture of Sanadon; that it owed its birth to that critical season (B. C. 29.) when Cæsar held deliberation with Agrippa and Mæcenas, whether to retain or resign the sovereignty, whether to hazard or not the safety of the commonwealth by restoring the republic.

Horace, we may well believe, was determined by his honest feelings on the side of tranquillity after such a series of storms. And his own words,

vv. 17, 18. Nuper solicitum quæ mihi tædium,
Nunc desiderium curaque non levis,

sufficiently indicate, that during the years of civil discord he had known only distress and anxiety, while in the calm repose which he now might enjoy, the deepest affections of his heart found their natural anchorage. Nor can I deny the tribute of assent and admiration to Sanadon's mode of interpreting,

vv. 11, 12. Quamvis Pontica pinus,
Sylvæ filia nobilis,

in reference to the Trojan origin of Roman glory; while by the line,

v. 10. Non Dii quos iterum pressa voces malo,

Horace beautifully intimates, that after such repeated mercies nothing more could now be expected, if they would venture out to sea again.

Thus far then we deny any thing whatsoever like adulation to Augustus Cæsar, or political apostacy, in the writings of Horace. On the other hand, while no proof exists of deep and remarkable attachment ever cherished to the party of Brutus, it is gratifying to observe, that, so long as the remembrance of Philippi retained any freshness about it, Horace not only abstains from any hint of reprobation thrown upon the cause itself, (in fact he never did so reflect upon it,) but speaks in the most guarded and delicate manner, where the mention of that name might have suggested a compliment to Augustus as the leader of a party.

In that interesting Ode to *Pompeius Varus*, 2 C. VII. 9—12.

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relictâ non bene parmulâ;
Cum fracta virtus, et minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento.

what else do we read, but that those followers of Brutus, young, ardent, and brave, did not realise on the field of battle that high confidence of success with which they approached it. At all events, the attribute of *military prowess*, elsewhere accorded to the victorious side, as in Horace's own words,

2 E. II. 47, 8. Civilisque *rudem* belli tulit æstus in arma
Cæsaris Augusti non responsura *lacertis*.

might surely be conceded by the vanquished party.

But, in truth, for the natural result of that as of the other great engagements in the civil war, (Pharsalia, Philippi, Actium,) Tacitus, when he has occasion to allow the commencement in the *East* to be so far inauspicious to Vespasian's enterprise, furnishes at once the brief solution: the conquerors in each conflict had the old soldiers of the *West* on their side.

Hist. II. 6. Namque olim validissima inter se civium arma, in Italiâ Galliâve, viribus Occidentis cœpta. Et Pompeio, Cassio, Bruto, Antonio, quos omnes trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi exitus fuerant.

After the battle of Philippi, so fatal to the republican cause, when in the terse and pointed language of Tacitus, Annal. I. 2. "Bruto et Cassio cæsis, *nulla jam publica arma*," and more especially when after some happy years, in which, under Mæcenas's wing, Horace had enjoyed at Rome the literary leisure which he loved; his attachment then to the cause of Cæsar rather than to that of Antony, on the quarrel between those competitors for empire bursting out into war, cannot surely be wondered at, much less does it require any excuse. Yet even then, though he has devoted an Ode to Cleopatra, a total silence regarding the name of Antony in whatever he wrote, marks the delicacy which he has observed on all subjects of political dissension. "Nor on any occasion," to use the words of Mr. Dunlop,

(Hist. of Rom. Lit. Vol. III. p. 232,) "is the great Pompey or his son Sextus, long the chief enemy and rival of Augustus, ever mentioned with contumely or disrespect." The only exception, perhaps, appears in the IXth Epode, where Horace refers to the convivial joy which a few years before (B.C. 36.) he had shared with Mæcenas on the defeat and flight of Sextus Pompeius, vv. 7—10.

> Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
> Dux fugit ustis navibus,
> Minatus urbi vincla, quæ detraxerat
> Servis amicus perfidis.

Agreeably to the above remark, even that Epode IV. *Lupis et agnis* . . (very doubtfully inscribed *in Mænam*) with all its bitterness, if Mæna can be the person attacked, aims the invective against him, not as the adherent and partisan of the younger Pompey, but as the insolent traitor and the double renegado. On the contrary, to the stern republican Cato and his Roman virtues, Horace in more than one splendid passage has borne the testimony of avowed admiration.

1 C. XII. 33—36. Romulum post hos prius, an quietum
Pompilî regnum memorem, an superbos
Tarquinî fasces, dubito, an Catonis
Nobile letum.

2 C. I. 23, 4. Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

From that decisive day, Sept. 2, B. C. 31, *postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potestatem ad unum conferri pacis interfuit*, Tacit. Hist. I. 1, it may well be excused, if the consideration of public affairs, as bearing on Horace's character, be not here pursued any farther. We have already seen, P. D. 18—20, with what honest ardour he celebrates the glories of Augustus at home and abroad: and not a breath of suspicion may be cast on gratulation or panegyric in his later years, at a period when the strong

impulse of popular attachment and delight must have directed instead of following the language and emotions of the Poet.

And here, connected intimately with the name of Augustus, on account of a project, soon discarded perhaps if ever seriously entertained by him let a page be devoted to the remonstrance of Horace in that magnificent Ode, 3 C. III. *Justum et tenacem propositi virum* ... of which the poetry and right feeling cannot be questioned, whether the patriotic advice was wanted or not.

The merit of discovering its only assignable reference and of developing its otherwise hidden beauties must be cheerfully conceded to Tanaquil Faber. According to his ingenious conjecture, then, Augustus, it was fancied or feared, meditated to transfer the seat of empire from Rome to Ilium, (Alexandria *now* would not be thought of,) following in that, as was naturally supposed, the intention, so rumoured at one time, of the great Julius.

" Quin etiam varia fama percrebruit migraturum Alexandriam vel Ilium, translatis simul opibus imperii, exhaustâque Italiâ delectibus, et procuratione urbis amicis permissâ." *Sueton.* § 79.

Had a design like this been compatible with a high sense of *justice*, which, in respect of Rome, it clearly was not, Augustus might have been encouraged by the example of other heroes to persevere and to accomplish it. But, although conceived in a pious spirit—*avitæ Trojæ.* (vv. 59, 60.) such a scheme must be utterly abhorrent to the will of those deities, whose displeasure more than once had laid Troy in ruins. And the Poet, therefore, working on that ground, with admirable skill represents Juno assenting

to the deification of Romulus, (vv. 32—36,) only to introduce in a solemn declaration from her mouth the strict condition, again and again repeated, on which alone his Roman descendants might enjoy the empire of the world.

It is no slight confirmation surely of T. Faber's hypothesis, that Virgil, towards the end of the XIIth Æneid,

> v. 828. Occidit, occideritque sinas, cum nomine Troja,

has concentered in that one verse, as the close of Juno's final speech to Jove, the whole drift and purpose of the long oration which Horace in her person has delivered.

A coincidence of thought so remarkable as this could not escape the notice of an editor like Heyne; who, however, in claiming the priority of its expression for Virgil, has assumed what here and elsewhere, in regard to anything parallel in their writings, it would be a hard task critically to demonstrate.

APPENDIX V.

DE PERSONIS HORATIANIS.

WERE the works of those commentators now extant who in the later Scholia are often mentioned as having written de Personis or de nominibus Horatianis, we should enjoy considerable advantage, no doubt, towards catching the point of many slight and allusive notices now imperfectly understood. But as the very fineness of touch, which gives the zest to such things, especially in satire, is the more quickly evanescent, the lapse of a very short time is often sufficient

to render them irretrievably obscure. Of this truth, as Gesner in his Præfatio remarks, we have a curious example in Brossett's Commentary on the Satires of Boileau; which, though drawn up in the lifetime of that writer, required the aid of the Satirist himself for the completion of the task.

Whatever now exists for illustration of Horace from sources of that traditional kind, may be found in the *Indices Nominum* like that of Zeunius, or in the *Onomasticon* of the younger Ernesti. An article from the German of Buttmann, *on the Historical References and Allusions in Horace*, is given in the *Philological Museum*, No. III. pp. 439—484; to which the reader may be referred for a great deal of curious and acute disquisition. The Greek names *Lalage*, *Glycera*, &c., occurring in Horace's Odes, he regards as on the whole fictitious, p. 446; and cuts off all necessity to trace the story of each person, beyond what each Ode separately contains for elucidating itself.

For such interpretation as the knowledge of persons addressed or of political events alluded to must supply, Buttmann's ingenious pages, though interesting whenever consulted, yet to my mind, on many points, are far from carrying conviction: for instance, where, as at page 483, in regard to Sextus Pompeius and his party, he builds so much on hypothetical history, purely so; and particularly where he represents Horace "in his 27th or 28th year," as having "not yet formed any tie with the new rulers of the State."

As bearing on the main purpose of a work like the present, it is clear, that after the attention paid to Mæcenas and Augustus, the principal persons in our drama, few of the many other *Personæ Horatianæ* can require any long or particular notice. Of those names, indeed, several belong to the history of Rome, and can have little illustration here but what is derived from that source; such as Agrippa, and Pollio, and Sallustius Crispus, the elder Lollius, and the young Neros: others again are of the class of Roman

gentlemen and men of letters, such as Ælius Lamia, Aristius Fuscus, Julius Florus, Pompeius Varus, Quintilius, Numicius, &c. Several of the last description, especially if they occur as repeatedly addressed or more than once mentioned, may now commodiously, in the writings of Horace chronologically arranged, be viewed according to the natural order in which the circumstances personally concerning them are presented to the eye of the reader. Under this head something has been already done in the Preface, for the names of Grosphus, Iccius, Quintius Hirpinus, and Septimius: nor could the literary friends of Horace (P. D. 59, 60) as such be overlooked. Very much, after all, must still be left to the taste of each individual reader, and to the inclination which he feels for matters of such peculiar research. One question of this kind relating to Septimius may not unaptly be discussed here. If on the authority of the *Commentator Vetus*, as exhibited by Cruquius, we are to consider *Titius* (1 E. III. 9.) and *Septimius*, (IX. 1.) as names of the same person; then it seems to follow, that the Epistles III, VIII, and IX, do not now stand in the same order of time in which they were originally written, that is, the IXth, which recommends Septimius to the favour of Tiberius Claudius Nero, must have preceded the IIId, in which Titius is spoken of as already in the suite of that young Prince: and not improbably it was by the hands of Septimius when he carried that introduction, that the VIIIth Epistle also was conveyed to Celsus Albinovanus, then one of the party. Taken in this succession, these three Epistles may perhaps be better understood and more agreeably perused.

On *Agrippa*, however, and *Sallustius* the younger, and *Nasidienus Rufus* and the *Pisos*, some short remarks may clearly be permitted, from the relation which they bear to Horace in one aspect or another.

1. Flattery of AGRIPPA has never been imputed to Horace; in whose praises of the warrior (1 C. VI. *Scriberis Vario* . . .) every compliment must be allowed to be perfectly fair. His high fame too and popularity, even before the battle of Actium, and the splendid works of his Ædileship, (B.C. 33.) are elsewhere (2 S. III. 185, and 1 E. VI. 26.) briefly touched upon.

The former of those passages may justify an observation rising out of the *anachronism* committed in it. The story of Servius Oppidius (vv. 168—186) is told by Horace (lecturing in the mask of Stertinius) as having occurred at Canusium when he was a boy. At that time, to say nothing of other persons, no Agrippa was known: but the playful aberration of Horace's pen, both as to place and to date, only makes the introduction of Agrippa's name the pleasanter on that account: with the son, already betraying symptoms of young ambition, the father expostulates beforehand on the folly and madness of it.

vv. 185, 6. Scilicet ut plausus, quos fert Agrippa, feras tu,
Astuta *ingenuum* vulpes imitata *leonem*?

That Satire, on the other hand, 2 S. V. *Hoc quoque, Tiresia* . . has of course all its anachronism instantly seen, as is facetiously intended: and the anger of Ulysses,

vv. 18, 19. Utne tegam spurco Damæ latus? Haud ita Trojæ
Me gessi, certans semper melioribus......

has the more exquisite effect for the contrast of such an ancient hero with such a modern upstart!

2. The younger SALLUST, great nephew of the historian, is known to the readers of Horace from that beautiful Ode, 2 C. II. *Nullus argento* . . . and I agree with Ernesti in his *Onomasticon*, that he must not be confounded with the Sallustius . . *in libertinas insaniens* . . of 1 S. II. 48, 9, apparently a much older man. What leads to the mention of him in this place, is the similitude which Tacitus tells us he bore to Mæcenas, that is, in general character; for any

thing like his participation in the murder of Postumus Agrippa, (Annal. I. 6,) was never imputed to the Prime Minister of Augustus.

Here is the masterly sketch of the Annalist, III. 30.

Atque ille, quamquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Mæcenatem æmulatus, sine dignitate Senatoriâ, multos triumphalium consulariumque potentiâ anteiit: diversus a veterum instituto, per cultum et munditias; copiâque et affluentiâ luxu propior: suberat tamen vigor animi, ingentibus negotiis par, eo acrior, quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat.

And in those significant words, we read the elementary formation of a character, which, with various shades of better and worse, came naturally to be cultivated under the altered circumstances of imperial government.

The younger Sallust affords a clear specimen of its first deterioration, in the court of Tiberius. Manius Lepidus, on the other hand, even at that period, Tacitus records to have been (Annal. IV. 20,) . . . illis temporibus gravem et sapientem virum ; and after noticing the influence for good possessed by him and exerted with that Prince, starts the disquisition, " an sit aliquid in nostris consiliis, liceatque, inter abruptam contumaciam, et deforme obsequium, pergere iter, ambitione et periculis vacuum."

The picture of Crispus, in Domitian's day, as a successful good natured old courtier, but without any ability or wish to exemplify the virtues of Lepidus, we may peruse finely delineated in these verses of the contemporary Satirist.

Juv. S. IV. 81—91.

—— Venit et Crispi jucunda senectus,
Cujus erant mores, qualis facundia, mite
Ingenium. Maria ac terras populosque regenti
Quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illâ
Sævitiam damnare, et honestum adferre liceret
Consilium? Sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
Cum quo de pluviis aut æstibus, aut nimboso
Vere, locuturi fatum pendebat amici?

> Ille igitur nunquam direxit brachia contra
> Torrentem; nec civis erat, qui libera posset
> Verba animi proferre, et vitam impendere vero.

The portrait of Agricola, known to every scholar, as drawn at full length by the affectionate pencil of his son-in-law, may conclude the catalogue. The partial admiration, however, of Tacitus for that great and good man, has tempted the biographer into an apparent severity of reflection on persons not endowed with felicity of temperament like his.

S. 42. Sciant quibus moris illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse: obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria et vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum reipublicæ usum, ambitiosâ morte inclaruerunt.

And yet Agricola, we read, even if he died by a natural death, was hardly permitted to end his days in peace. Nor could Tacitus, when afterwards on the high road of historical duty, deny the stamp of his deepest praise to Pætus Thrasea and Barea Soranus, and to other noble spirits, whose examples of fortitude and honesty, in the worst of times, demonstrate that Cassius himself (Annal. IV. 34,) was not truly called the *ultimus Romanorum*.

3. The entertainment of NASIDIENUS Rufus, "a man of fashion in other respects, but pettily ostentatious of his wealth," has been already noticed (App. III. p. 114) in proof of Mæcenas's sometimes going out to an early, that is, to a fashionable dinner. The name of the entertainer has afforded scope for the acuteness and erudition of Buttmann (*u. s.* p. 472.) in pursuing the conjecture of Lambinus, that, to preserve some semblance of delicacy, Horace under that grotesque name really intended to denote SALVIDIENUS *Rufus*, a person historically known from many writers who have mentioned him.

I cannot here refuse myself the opportunity to state, that, though somewhat refined perhaps and fanciful, Buttmann's Dissertation (*u. s.* p. 480.) on Horace's *Licymnia*,

2 C. XII. 13. Me dulces dominæ Musa Licymniæ...

as a name (eodem numero syllabarum et literarum) under which poetically to shadow the real *Terentia* of Mæcenas, may be quoted as another instance of his happily settling a point which had been well started before.

But that *Mæcenas* himself was in any similar way adumbrated under the name of *Malthinus*, in the famous passage, 1 S. II. 24, 5.

> Dum vitant *stulti vitia*, in contraria currunt:
> Malthinus *tunicis demissis* ambulat....

after all the ingenious pleadings and delicate qualifyings of Buttmann, (*u. s.* p. 473.) is what I am quite content to reject and disbelieve, in such company as that of Lambinus, Torrentius, Gesner, and Wieland.

Independently, however, of all other considerations obvious enough regarding the Poet and the Patron, it will appear, that Chronology has much more to do in deciding this question, than any one hitherto has observed or suspected.

About the date B. C. 39, when Horace is supposed to have touched with such sharp ridicule effeminacy like this in Mæcenas, that person was in the prime of a young and active life; and afterwards at the battle of Actium (B. C. 31.), as commander of the ships called *Liburnian*, he certainly bore a strenuous part in obtaining the victory of that memorable day. When, therefore, we read in Seneca the compliment paid to him for a noble sentiment, at the close of the Epistle, XIV. 93.

Diserte Mæcenas ait:

> "Nec tumulum curo, sepelit natura relictos."

Alte cinctum putes dixisse: habuit enim ingenium et grande et virile, nisi illud ipse discinxisset—how, let me ask, are we at all to understand the compliment, if that *grande et virile ingenium* did not actually belong to him in his earlier years? Only allow this plain piece of justice to Mæcenas, perfectly consistent as it is with every thing otherwise known of him; and it becomes palpable at once, that the effeminacy

imputed to him elsewhere by Seneca, even with the words *solutis tunicis*, Ep. xx. 115. and re-echoed by Juvenal, must have been realized, (postquam *illum enervasset felicitas*), in the acquired foibles of his later years only.

In this view of the whole matter, we instantly discover what the plausible error was that misled the commentator Acron, catching up the general hint from Seneca and Juvenal, &c., and utterly disregarding the chronological series of things; without attending to which even the cleverest scholars, it has been shown, have fallen into very strange hallucinations.

The elder Scaliger, in his *Poetice*, 1607, p. 344, shall here be quoted, in farther proof of the gross mistakes committed by the most eminent critics, from ignorance or neglect of chronology.

Ingratus Horatius, atque animo barbaro atque servili, qui ne a Mæcenate quidem abstinere potuit: siquidem, quod aiunt, verum est, Malchinum ab eo appellatum, cujus demissas notaret tunicas. Ager enim Sabinus, quo Canicula illa a divino viro donata fuerat, tantus tantique erat, ut objectu suo posset malefici oculi visum intercipere, quo minus tunicarum demissione offenderetur.

At the time when the first book of Satires was published, that *ager Sabinus*, as we have already seen, had yet to be bestowed by Mæcenas upon Horace!

4. So much has been done and with such entire satisfaction by Wieland abroad, and by our own elder Colman at home, to set the *Epistola ad* PISONES *de Arte Poetica* in its true light, that hardly any room is left to desiderate or expect farther elucidation of it now.

If, however, any farther proof were wanted that the family of the Pisos did cultivate poetical talent, and with some distinction too, the following extract from Pliny's Letter to Spurinna (v. 17.) may serve to place that fact beyond a doubt... nuncio tibi fuisse me hodie in auditorio Calpurnii Pisonis: recitabat καταστερισμῶν [*relationum in stellas*

sc. rerum hominumque in sidera relatorum historiarum] eruditam sane luculentamque materiam..... Ne plura (quamquam libet plura, quo sunt pulchriora de juvene, rariora de nobili) recitatione finitâ, multum ac diu exosculatus adolescentem, qui est acerrimus stimulus monendi, laudibus incitavi, 'pergeret quâ cœpisset, *lumen*que quod *sibi majores sui prætulissent*, posteris ipse præferret.'

Perhaps a more striking example of the success with which a writer in one of his works may be brought to illustrate himself in another, cannot be adduced, than the contrast betwixt Horace's fine address in recommending the good poets of his own age to imperial favour (2 E. I. *ad August.* especially vv. 118—138.), and his bold way in exposing the bad or doubtful poet to interminable ridicule, at the close of his personal Epistle to the Pisos. This consideration, as showing the totally different objects which Horace had in view, might alone have sufficed to demonstrate what the poem so long miscalled *Ars Poetica* should really be esteemed.

The services of Wieland, as an expositor of Horace, if at all calculated from his merit in regard to that Epistle, must excite a strong desire to have them made more generally beneficial to the many classical students who cannot read German. Horace's literary and critical writings, some of the Satires in particular, require all the advantage that can be given, of full and luminous dissertation: and I cannot lose the opportunity, here presented or sought, to suggest, that a judicious selection from Wieland, well translated by an Horatian Scholar, would confer an inestimable benefit wherever the study of Horace is liberally prosecuted in the Schools and Colleges of this country.

It has been said in a former page (P. D. 70) that Horace was "too shy or too proud for public recitation and the common modes of courting popularity."

The matters there alluded to, on Horace's account, may deserve more particular developement; and if any apology be needed for giving a brief notice of them in this place, let

my excuse be pleaded in the passage recently quoted from Pliny or in that picture of the *recitator acerbus* with which the Epistle to the Pisos is concluded.

First of all then, private recitation of the Poet to a few friends, as we gather from 1 S. IV. 73. or to Augustus, as some other Poets did, 2 E. I. 223, and 1 E. XIX. 43, or to a friendly critic like Quintilius, A. P. 438, was practised by Horace himself. And thus, young Piso (vv. 387, 8) is advised to submit his compositions in the first instance to the criticism of Mæcius and his father and Horace.

Secondly, other Poets did not scruple to recite their writings at the common bath or even in the Forum, (1 S. IV. 74, 5), or to bribe a low audience for a public recitation 1 E. XIX. 37, 8).

Thirdly, some authors made interest with the masters of schools to get their poetry into daily use by dictation; a practice which Horace mentions with great disdain. (1 S. X. 74, 5. 1 E. XIX. 39, 40.)

And lastly, then, as Horace at an early period evidently disliked to make his pieces known by the usual way of recitation (1 S. IV. 23.), so on reaching the advanced maturity of authorship, his pride lay in being read (1 E. XIX. 34) by the respectable few; and of course he took the higher mode only of publishing by means of the bookseller. That Epistle (XX.) *Ad Librum suum*, accordingly, will reward the perusal: it is full of amusing and curious particulars.

Whatever honour has been attached to the name of LOLLIUS (the Consul of B. C. 21.) by that splendid Ode, 4, IX. *Ne forte credas* . . . . may well be received as the tribute of sincerity and truth from his admiring and devoted friend; especially when the date of its composition is considered, some 15 years before the time when Augustus entrusted him with the personal care and military education of his

grandson Caius, B. C. 1.; and of course long before any imputation whatever could have been cast on his public or his private integrity.

The vindication of Lollius from certain calumnies, for which no pretence can be found before the period when as the tutor of the young Prince he incurred the hatred of Tiberius, I have with great care and perhaps not without success undertaken in the Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1834, under the title of *Vindiciæ Lollianæ*.

The two passages of Velleius Paterculus and one of the Elder Pliny, on which alone those calumnies are founded, are in that article produced and subjected to severe examination. Of any fact or even hint in disparagement of Lollius's character, neither in Tacitus nor in Suetonius, does one historical vestige appear; while of Velleius's baseness in flattering the bad passions of Tiberius, proofs and testimonies are brought forward enough to satisfy any reasonable demand.

And I am strangely mistaken if Horace himself, notwithstanding the honours paid to the "Major Neronum" (4 C. XIV. 14.) in his best days (egregius vitâ famâque quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit. Ann. VI. 51.) did not owe a very marked suppression of his name to that very Ode in praise of Lollius which we are now considering. To what cause, indeed, so probable as Tiberian malignity deeply operating, may the following fact be attributed?

In Velleius's catalogue of Roman Poets, L. II. c. 36, § § 2, 3, the names of Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Tibullus, and Naso, are all prominently paraded:—that of Horace is not visible!

Could this striking omission then be the result of mere oversight, with such immense chances in calculation against it? or is it not naturally accounted for at once, by supposing it a sacrifice to the dark disgust of Tiberius's eye?

APPENDIX VI.

ON HORACE'S OBLIGATIONS TO THE GREEK POETS.

It has been already stated (P. D. 70) that Horace acknowledged and justified his borrowing the metres of Archilochus and of Alcæus, with such adaptation as the genius of the Latin language required.

The point of his more substantial obligations to the Greek Poets in subject, imagery, and sentiment, may be studied with advantage in a work of curious literature quoted below*. I am inclined to think, however, that the amount of what he owes on that score (and avowedly incurred, for such imitation was an honorable task) has been greatly overrated. And if an estimate in other cases may be taken on the average from that fragment of Alcæus (even allowing the ingenious emendation of χθόνα ... παίειν for τινα ... πίνειν)...

> Νῦν χρὴ μεθύσκειν καὶ χθόνα πρὸς βίαν
> Παίειν, ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος.

the sum total then of the debt will prove no great deduction from the solidity of his fame.

At the most, Alcæus supplies only the catchword of the Ode, 1 C. xxxvii.

> Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
> Pulsanda tellus :

* Q. Horatii Flacci Carmina Collatione Scriptorum Græcorum illustrata ab Henrico Wagnero. Præfatus est Christ. Adolphus Klotzius. Halæ. 1770.

for besides the characteristic touch, pede *libero*, the foot now of *freedom* and *security*; at the very next moment,

> ——— nunc Saliaribus
> Ornare pulvinar Deorum
> Tempus erat dapibus, sodales. . . .

there comes a change over the spirit of the song; the subject is "essentially Roman;" and as it has been well remarked, (Encyclopædia Metropolitana, Horace—Latin Poetry, p. 400,) "the magnificent description of Cleopatra gives the stamp of original genius to the whole."

Thus too the Ode 1 C. XVIII.

> Nullum, Vare, sacrâ vite prius severis arborem.

opens with a strict translation from the well known verse of Alcæus,

> Μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσῃς πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλω,

"But the *solum Tiburis* and the *mœnia Catili* in the very next line domesticate the production with peculiar felicity." (Encycl. Metr.)

APPENDIX VII.

QUÆSTIONES HORATIANÆ.

Scripsit C. Kirchner, S. Theol. et Phil. Dr. Scholæ Prov. Portensis Rector.—Lipsiæ. 1834.

The first of these Questions, occupying 41 pages out of the 60, is entitled *De Bentleiana Temporum, quibus Horatius*

Poematum suorum Libros scripsit, constitutione: and to the system laid down by Dr. Bentley, he is on four different heads decidedly opposed.

Bentley is wrong, he alleges, in asserting (1.) that Horace at one and the same time devoted his pen only to one species of composition, and (2.) that Horace did not give publication to separate pieces, but only to whole books at a time.

Bentley is wrong also in asserting (3.), that Horace published the books separately one by one, and not more than one together.

Bentley is farther wrong in determining (4.) the years within which the several volumes were composed.

Under the first of these heads, let me be allowed to show a specimen of Kirchner's proposed arrangement.

In the year B. C. 28. and of Horace 37. Kirchner fixes his date for the following pieces, for instance, amongst others, 2 S. I. *Sunt quibus in Satirâ*... 1 C. XXXI. *Quid dedicatum*... 2 C. XV. *Jam pauca aratro*... and 3 C. VI. *Delicta majorum*....

It is on the suggestions of a fanciful and capricious ingenuity, that Kirchner, like a new Sanadon, has perpetrated this strange divulsion of wholes from wholes, and a conjunction as strange of pieces with pieces tied *obtorto collo* together. The very sight of his *Tabula Chronologica Horatiana* is quite enough to astonish and offend by the presumption with which every single piece has its separate year precisely affixed to it, and by the boldness with which all the pieces are dissevered from that connection within the same book, which had remained undisturbed for seventeen centuries.

Luckily, on the one hand, internal evidence, derived from comparing the Alcaic metre in different books, affords an argument which cannot well be eluded: and as if to stumble at that block, Kirchner does not hesitate to declare, that all the Odes of the first, second, and third books were promiscuously written and then published collectively at once in B. C.

18. Of course, therefore, when he places 2 C. XIII. *Ille et nefasto*... in the same year as 3 C. II. III. XXIX.; and 2 C. XIX. *Bacchum in remotis*...in the same year as 3 C. IV. with certain inferior modes of structure visible in Odes of the second book from which all those in the third are entirely exempt; he blunders on in the same unsuspecting ignorance about the progressive change in Horace's versification, which has been already produced as an argument against Sanadon. P. D. p. 10.

On the other hand, with regard to the historical facts themselves and the years of their occurrence, Kirchner may be generally right: it is not on that ground perhaps that any serious objection can be brought against him. His hastiness in every where assuming the identity of such an allusion to a foreign name in Horace with such an event or such a war at such a precise time, this may be regarded as the *ignis fatuus*, by which he is perpetually led astray in venturing to fix the date of each separate piece.

Let one instance suffice to exemplify the nature of that assertion here made: a detailed examination of the whole would require a volume. Horace, in 3 C. XXIV. addresses the Roman reader thus,

> *Intactis* opulentior
> Thesauris *Arabum* et divitiis Indiæ...

Therefore, says Kirchner, that Ode must have been written before the year B. C. 24. in which Ælius Gallus is recorded to have led an expedition into Arabia Felix. That invasion, however, terminated, we are told, without success; so that the treasures of Arabia remained as *entire* and *unrifled* after that event as they were before it. Yet on such a slight and shadowy link of association as this, Kirchner does not scruple to hang his hypothesis of the new date B. C. 28. and his dislocation of it from Bentley's position at B. C. 24, 23: whereas the very mention of *rich India* along with *Arabia's treasures* (as elsewhere, 1 E. VI. 6.) sufficiently

shows that it is only a proverbial kind of expression for stores of unbounded opulence. That personal address, 1 C. XXIX. on the contrary... *Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides,* —carries on the face of it evidence of an expedition then talked of or projected against Arabia; and in these terms— *non ante devictis* Sabææ | Regibus ... might possibly suggest the application of a political meaning to *Intactis* which does not belong to that word in such a context.

Then too, (just to give a second instance,) because there is a great general amnesty recorded in B. C. 39, the Pompeius of 2 C. VII. could not have been restored from exile, according to Kirchner, by any other act of grace, public or private: and that Ode therefore must be referred to B. C. 39, in the 26th year of Horace's age.

Mark the consequence.

This fine poetical composition, *O sæpe mecum* .. is by Kirchner set down as the very first Ode ever written by Horace; and that too, seven years before the date B. C. 32, assigned by Kirchner himself to the Satire, 1 S. IV. *Eupolis atque Cratinus* .. in which Horace says, as plainly as a man can say it, that he had not then written any thing which could entitle him to the name of Poet.

> vv. 41, 2. —— neque, si quis scribat, uti nos,
> Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse Poetam.

But from want of correct knowledge also as to the *localities* of Horace and the *chronology* connected with them, Kirchner has gone grossly wrong in interpreting an Ode of the very plainest meaning, 2 C. VI. *Septimi Gades* . . . He argues from vv. 5, 6.

> *Tibur* Argeo positum colono
> Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ, &c.

that Horace was then praying for the *Sabine* Estate which he had not yet obtained: he accordingly gives to that Ode

the early date of B. C. 36, and then places the Satire, 2 S. VI. *Hoc erat in votis* . . . along with the fact of Horace getting that property, in the subsequent year B. C. 31. Whereas in the year B. C. 36. as we calculate, Horace was enriched with the Sabine villa by his patron Mæcenas; about B. C. 31. he purchased or rented the cottage at Tivoli; and in B. C. 26 or 25. he was putting up the prayer to end his days in that delightful spot, to which his attachment grew the more ardent, the longer he knew it.

Such is our account of the matter: such is that of Dr. Kirchner.

Kirchner's second objection charges Bentley with asserting, that Horace did not give publication to separate pieces, but only to whole books at a time. Here distinction is necessary.

No one denies, nor did Bentley mean to deny, that Horace must have allowed several of his writings to be known amongst his friends at the time, either by private recitation, or by giving copies of some pieces, just as they were written. From hence a partial publicity would be acquired; as unquestionably was the case with two of his Satires, from the mention of Rufillus, 1 S. II. 27. compared with IV. 92. and of Lucilius 1 S. IV. 8, 9. compared with 1 S. X. 1. The collective publication of the pieces afterwards in separate books is all that we contend for.

And as to the third head of objection, that Bentley is wrong in asserting Horace to have published the books separately one by one, and not more than one book at a time: a sufficient answer on that head has been virtually given, in considering the principal point of it, whether the first, second, and third books of Odes could be, as Kirchner

alleges, promiscuously written and then published together all at once.

Nor is an immediate answer wanting to meet that one allegation (at least) under the fourth head, that Bentley is wrong in allowing to Horace (as he appears to do) intervals of idleness betwixt one set of books and another. As to that subject of mere oversight or omission on the part of Bentley, satisfactory explanation has been already afforded in P. D. p. 82.

The most ingenious and plausible perhaps of all Kirchner's conjectures is that which he has started under his QUÆSTIO (IV^ta^) p. 54. *De Itinere Brundusino.* Horace, he suggests, at p. 60, might have taken that opportunity to go on from Brundusium to Tarentum: when there, he might have written that Satire itself, 1 S. V. *Egressum magnâ* . . . from thence he might have returned to Rome by the direct way through Venusia: when at his native spot, he might have addressed that Ode to the Fons Bandusinus, 3 C. XIII.; and having at the same time renewed his friendship with the worthy old man Ofellus, he might on his return home have composed the beautiful Satire, 2 S. II. *Quæ virtus*. . . . . And besides all this, for some reason or other, he might in that year have written the Epode XI. *Petti, nihil me* . . . .; and the dialogue with Archytas too, 1 C. XXVIII. *Te maris et terræ* . . . .—"why so?" if you ask: Tarentum (v. 29) is certainly mentioned in it.

In this complex scheme, built on a series of assumptions, even that part which regards the visit to Ofellus, though it carries an air of probability with it, is by no means wanted to account for Horace's actual acquaintance with those facts:

— 114–116. ——— Videas metato in agello
Cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum,
Non ego, narrantem, &c.

From

1 S. vi. 104, 5. ——— Nunc mihi curto
Ire licet mulo, vel, si libet, usque *Tarentum:*

we clearly gather that an occasional excursion to Venusia in his younger days would cost him very little trouble, when even some twenty years afterwards he records his intention (1 E. xv.) to ride as far as Velia or Salernum: and the very phrase *videas*, if that necessarily implies personal observation on the spot, rather than knowledge from report which might reach him at Rome, by no means involves in it any assertion equivalent to that which the words *nuper vidi* would express.

Then for the Fountain of Bandusia.—If that Ode had been written on occasion of such a visit so paid, in the very spot where his playful childhood was passed, would the man have quite forgotten the boy, and totally forborne the least allusion to his early reminiscences? An idea like this borders on the impossible; more especially with Horace, who has so minutely recorded whatever else belonged to the history of his boyhood. Such and so unaccountable then is the Poet's silence about himself and his childish days, if the Fountain which he has thus canonised, had its local habitation and its name in the neighbourhood of Venusia only; while, in aid of that negative argument, every local circumstance otherwise known in the picture of Horace's Sabine Villa and the fine spring of water unquestionably adjoining it, vividly corresponds with the scenery exhibited in this very Ode.

Then too, if an apotheosis conceived in the high spirit of poetry like that could, consistently with Horace's own account of his beginning the lyrical style only when an inmate of Tivoli, be allowed to have been written many years before he ever dwelt there; another objection in a different quarter

arises little perhaps suspected by Kirchner, and for which he will hardly, I fear, have any answer provided. It is this: with the exception of that Epistle, written one summer (1 E. II. 2.) from cool Præneste, and suggested by what he had been recently reading there, Horace does not appear from any intimation extant, (I speak advisedly,) to have employed himself in writing any where, unless at his usual places of residence, Tivoli and the Sabine Villa in his later days, Rome chiefly perhaps at an earlier period. At all events, we are specifically told, that in his winter plan for going down to the sea, (to Baiæ, generally,) he expected to *read*, it is true,

1 E. VII. 11, 12. Ad mare descendet vates tuus, et sibi parcet,
Contractusque *leget*:

but not a word, be it remarked, of any thing in the shape of poetical composition is there mentioned. And if at any season he had given way to the temptation of occasional writing, *admonitu locorum*, is it probable, let me ask, that not one trace should now remain of his Muse having been on any spot occupied in any task of that nature?

——— "Nec vola nec vestigium extat."......

Finally, and to have done, it may afford something more than amusement to observe, how the two principal antagonists of our system, united only in rejecting it, differ *toto cœlo* from each other in the detail of what they would substitute: in fact, they have no common principle upon which to proceed together, nor, as far as I can discover, has either of them any distinct plan to guide his separate researches.

In noticing Dr. Kirchner therefore as the new Sanadon, I had no design to insinuate that he follows the steps of that lively and oracular critic. Quite the contrary indeed: his course is far more eccentric than that of his predecessor;

as the brief but faithful statement here given may serve to exemplify.

M. Sanadon, in the *Nouvelle Distribution*, comprises his first book of Odes (made up of 18 Odes and 2 Epodes) within the 25th and 31st years of Horace, a space of seven years: Dr. Kirchner in his arrangement scatters those 20 pieces over twenty-four years, that is, between the years 26 and 49 of Horace's life, placing two, and two only, of the whole number, within the limits assigned to them by M. Sanadon.

Here then are two scholars by profession, evidently men of erudition and talent, labouring with all diligence to illustrate *de novo* the life and writings of Horace. And what is the result? At first setting out they so far agree as to throw down and forsake the old landmarks of that division into books, which from the earliest age is known to have existed: and when, on returning from their respective discoveries, the report of the German is contrasted with that of the French adventurer, from the first specimen of comparison, what else are we naturally led to conclude, but that one of them cannot have gone right, most likely from the chances of error that they both have gone wrong?

If, however, after all, any person should feel inclined to form on fuller examination his own judgment of their respective merits, the volumes of Sanadon are to be found in the British Museum; and a copy of the QUÆSTIONES HORATIANÆ of Kirchner is now placed there on purpose, that the whole treatise, and particularly his *Tabula Chronologica Horatiana*, or balance sheet, may be at any time inspected.

APPENDIX VIII.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE TEXT OF THIS EDITION, AND OF THE READINGS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF GESNER, ADOPTED FOR ITS IMPROVEMENT.

"On printing for the first time the books of Horace in their Chronological order, as established by Dr. Bentley, no mark of respect seemed more natural than to preserve the text of his own edition." *Horat. Restit.* 1832, p. (v.) And yet either for private reading or for use in schools especially, I must now candidly confess, that the many peculiarities in Bentley's Horace render it much less acceptable than other editions of very inferior merit. Under this impression, and with that deference justly due to the name of Gesner, having determined to reprint the text, *generally*, from his first edition in 1752, (for the second in 1772 came out after his death,) after much inquiry, I at length procured, from Rome, a copy of that work. From his *Addenda* at the close of the volume it appears that the task of correcting the press during his own illness (*gravi morbo decumbentis*) was undertaken by his friend Joh. Frid. Fischer; and I beg leave to plead that fact as my excuse, for having committed myself too far to recede, before the numerous, gross, and unaccountable errata in the book were on a closer acquaintance with its contents detected. Let this acknowledgment suffice for the present.

I proceed briefly to state the principal changes, here introduced, with a view to render the text of this edition something nearer to that genuine character, which it bore from the Poet's own hand.

I. What has been done in *punctuation* or in the aids to it, shall be first noticed. The use of a mark to distinguish

the new person speaking, or for the moment imagined as it were to speak, those *duo puncta* in Baxter *Porphyrionis admonitu*, as altered by Gesner to the form ¶, I have here with little deviation retained; though perfectly conscious of peculiar difficulties in so delicate a matter, and impelled in some instances to correct what appeared to me erroneous, as at 1 S. vi. 39, 40, where the transition from one party speaking, to the other, demands to be so distinguished.

¶ At Novius collega gradu post *me* sedet uno; &c.

Of Gesner's text corrected where faulty in the *interrogative* mark, 1 C. viii. 1—4, may serve as one instance. He edits thus.

Perdere? ——— atque solis?

Other cases have been similarly attended to.

To show where the *protasis* (or preamble) terminates, or where the several branches of it end, the mark — has been, and perhaps advantageously, used, as for instance in 1 E. xv. 13, 21, 24.

A caution of this kind is the more necessary in Horace, from the manner so habitual to him of making one *conjunction* serve for several clauses without the hint of *et* or the like to connect them.

Thus, in 1 E. xi. vv. 25, 6, 7, the true meaning would be more distinctly seen at once, if exhibited in this manner to the eye.

Nam *si* ratio et prudentia curas,
Non locus, effusi late maris arbiter, aufert;
Cœlum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt;—
Strenua nos exercet inertia:............

Singularly enough, we are told by Suetonius, that Augustus Cæsar (c. 86,) was both aware of the obscurity which arose from this neglect, and in his own writing took great care to avoid it.

Præcipuam curam duxit sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere: quod quo facilius efficeret, aut necubi lectorem vel auditorem obturbaret ac moraretur, neque præpositiones verbis addere neque *conjunctiones* sæpius *iterare* dubitavit, quæ detractæ afferunt aliquid obscuritatis, etsi gratiam augent.

The *parenthetic* mark also, when critically interposed, may serve well to prevent confusion and mistake. The following passage, awkward at the best, affords good illustration of such a use;

1 S. IV. 69—74. Ut sis tu similis Cœli Birrique, latronum,
Non ego sim Capri neque Sulci; (cur metuas me?)
Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,
Queis manus insudet vulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli,
Nec recitem quidquam, nisi amicis, idque coactus
Non ubivis, coramve quibuslibet.

Where unless the words .. cur metuas me? .. be kept separate by a parenthesis, the continuity of the sense is entirely lost. A rough translation will show it sufficiently.

Though you may resemble those highwaymen, Cœlius and Birrius, it does not follow that I am to be like Caprius or Sulcius, the informers, (why need you then be afraid of me?) nor that any shop should have my writings for sale, nor yet that I should make a common practice of rehearsing, &c., &c.

Here, be it remarked, the old commentator in Cruquius seems to have rightly apprehended the difficulty of the passage, as it usually stands; which he would rectify by supplying *cum* before v. 71. [Cum] nulla taberna, &c. With *cum*, sure enough, every thing would run on perspicuously and well: but then *cum* is not there, and it cannot on any pretence be understood.

Nor is the mark here occasionally set on the *â* final without its advantage, to show the true reading; especially where a change in the text has taken place, as 1 Sat. IX. 29, 30.

Sabella | Quod puero cecinit *motâ* divina anus *urnâ*.

or more clearly to denounce the false reading by thus exhibiting the true one:

3 C. xxiii. 18. Non sumtuosâ blandior hostiâ; [manus *sc.* futura]

that is, not more likely to win its prayer for a costly victim: where also the prosodial power of *bl* to lengthen the 5th syllable with *a* short *in thesi* cannot be defended even by Bentley's authority.

II. A scrupulous attention indeed has been here paid to *metrical accuracy;* but with no change of the text on that account, unless recommended by the name of some eminent scholar who has suggested it, or by internal evidence also supporting the change.

Ep. v. 100. Et Esquilin*æ* alites.

"Animadverte," says Julius Cæsar Scaliger, "vocem hanc, *alites*, multis in locis ab Horatio repetitam, quam adeo amavit, ut maluerit hic, quam quod potuit, *Vultures;* et fugisset licentiam neglectæ collisionis." *Poetice.* 1607, p. 821.

I have adopted, more from necessity than from choice, the reading,

Et Esquilini*æ* alites.

where *æ* final in *thesi* is elided, without offence, just as it is,

Ep. iii. 16. Siticulos*æ* Appuliæ.

Again,

2 C. xx. 13. Jam Dædaleo ocyor Icaro......

presents an offensive hiatus, for which, in the practice of Horace, no parallel can be found.—For,

Ep. xiii. 3. Threiciō Aquilone sonant......

has the long vowel *in arsi* and that of dactylic verse, quite differently posited.

Tutior for *ocyor* is ingenious, and unquestionably improves the text by the idea of *safety*. But the *extent* of the Poet's fame demands the reading *notior*, which I have preferred. The whole tenor of that and the following stanza beautifully corresponds with it.

> 17, 18, 19. *Me* Colchus..........
> et *ultimi*
> *Noscent* Geloni.

So too,

> A. P. 345, 6. Hic meret æra liber Sosiis; hic et mare transit,
> Et longum *noto* scriptori prorogat ævum.

Again, the common reading,

> 3 C. xiv. 11. ——— mal*e* *o*minatis | Parcite verbis.

has been with some plausibility defended. I have here followed Bentley, but doubtingly, I confess, in his emendation.

> .... male *in*ominatis | Parcite verbis.

Once more,

> 3 C. v. 17, 18. Si non perir*et* immiserabilis
> Captiva pubes....

Glareanus (now 300 years ago) saw with just intuition the fault of this text, that it wants the 5th syllable long; and his emendation of perir*ent*, as farther improved by Bentley's immiserabi*les*, I have cheerfully adopted.

All the instances adduced to support perir*et* in that position are foreign to the purpose, either like one of several, the first here quoted,

> 3 C. xvi. 26. Quicquid ar*at* *im*piger Appulus,

having the short syllable final prolonged *in arsi* of dactylic verse; or, like the one rare example,

> 2 C. VI. 13, 14. Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
> Angulus ri*det*, *ubi* non Hymetto....

having the same prolongation *in arsi* where that part of the verse is dactylic.

III. Nor again, may the nice *collocation* of words be neglected.

The elder Scaliger, with that pride and dogmatism and partiality so strong in his character, laying down a principle which no doubt has often been verified,

Epitheta quæ in fine versuum existunt, *sæpe* esse argumento coactæ locutionis, quasi sint carminis supplementa... upon that ground applies his hypercritical censure to this faultless line,

> 3 C. XXIX. 20. Sole *dies* referente *siccos*.

When Sol brings round the days—what days?—those of thirst.

In number II. of *Quæstiones Venusinæ* (J. T.) which Sylvanus Urban has admitted in his pages, (Gent. Mag. April, 1834,) there appears the Plea of Horace the Poet against Scaliger the Critic; and the task of vindication there performed I certainly may consider as complete and satisfactory.

Where the *vis* or *essence* lies in the *attribute*, the Latin poets frequently subjoin it to the *noun*, and for greater emphasis terminate the verse with it. He who runs, may read this in the practice of Virgil; twice for instance, in the course of eleven lines, Æn. VIII. 662, 672, and elsewhere as often as from other causes it could be expected to occur.

Consistently with this remark, let me add, the text of Horace, A. P. 36, 7, ought here to have been correctly exhibited, on Bentley's emendation....

Quam naso vivere pravo,
Spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.

The *relative position* of the *adjective* forms one only out of many points, which give exercise to the Poet's taste; and in the varieties of *lyric* verse, when emphasis or harmony along with metrical movement comes in play, the *curiosa felicitas* of Horace in managing those concurrent circumstances may be readily seen.

In happily restoring the lection of all the MSS.,

3 C. III. 6. Nec fulminantis magna *manus Jovis:*

Bentley, with some haughtiness perhaps, but not without justice, has subjoined, Paucis a naturâ datum est habere aurem.

Now as the latter hemistich of the first and second lines of the Alcaic stanza coincides with that of the line called Asclepiadean, the number of those hemistichs, amounting to little short of a thousand, affords opportunity enough to indicate the combinations most in favour with Horace's ear. And in lines of peculiar construction like that above quoted,

Nec *fulminantis* | magna manus | *Jovis:*

the collocation of the words also is found to be similar:

1 C. XXXVI. 10. *Cressâ* ne careat | pulchra dies | *notâ.*

3 C. XVI. 30. ——— et *segetis* | certa fides | *meæ.*

——— XXIX. 2. Non *ante verso* | lene merum | *cado.*

IV. On the subject of *various lections*, and on passages of disputed or difficult meaning, where questions of style and sense are concerned, a curious and instructive compilation might be made; on the basis of Dr. Bentley's notes, so rich in critical knowledge and vigorous intellect, taken along with a selection from those of Lambinus, Cruquius, and Tor-

rentius, the *tria lumina* of the commentaries of that learned age upon Horace.

My humbler office embraces only a few of the most prominent deviations here admitted from the common text, sufficient by way of specimen to show in what light I have viewed the task or duty of an Editor at the present day.

Those remarkable passages, as here without scruple edited,

1 C. I. 29. TE doctarum hederæ præmia frontium, &c.,

and

3 C. XXIX. 6. UT semper-udum Tibur, &c.

have received an ample discussion, but not too much for their importance, the latter in P. D. p. 24, and the former in App. III. p. 119.

With the same frankness let me avow that the time is come when similar decision may elsewhere be justified; especially in regard of such texts, as, after the strong doubt or perplexity excited by the criticism of able scholars, cannot be satisfactorily construed unless with some slight change, itself of a probable nature.

Four cases of that sort are the following:

(1) 1 C. XXIII. 5. Nam, seu mobilibus *vepris* inhorruit
Ad ventum foliis;

otherwise edited *veris* and *vitis*.

Bentley's note on the passage amounts to demonstration.

(2) 1 C. XXXVIII. 5. Simplici myrto nihil adlabores,
Sedulus curæ.

with the syntax like that of

1 S. IX. 11, 12; X. 21. *Cerebri felicem* ——— *Seri studiorum*,

and

1 C. XXII. 1. *Integer vitæ*, &c.

The common readings, try them as you will, of *cura* or *curo*, absolutely defy all attempts at rational interpretation.

(3) 2 C. XIV. 26, 7, 8. ——— et mero | Tinget pavimentum *superbis*
Pontificum potiore *cœnis*.

Here, too, the various readings or conjectures, *superbus*, *superbum*, *superbo*, leave the field fairly open for the admission of *superbis*, recommended by Horace's favourite use of the adjective in the third line, often so preluding to its noun in the fourth; and what is more remarkable, by that very adjective being three times employed by Horace in the very same relative position.

1 C. xxxv. 3, 4. superbos....triumphos.

——xxxvii. 31, 2. superbo .... triumpho.

4 C. xv. 7, 8. superbis | Postibus.

(4) 2 C. xx. 5, 6, 7. —— Non ego, Pauperum
Sanguis parentum, non ego, *quem vocant*,
Dilecte Mæcenas, obibo; &c.

Here, if any clear and consistent interpretation could be devised for the old reading, *quem vocas*, the *potior conditio possidentis* might exclude any pretender from usurping its place. But the brilliant suggestion of Dr. Bentley, *quem vocant*, scilicet homines invidi, (for even so late as 4 C. iii. 16. Et *jam* dente *minus* mordeor *invido*, envy was not quite extinct,) may *now* be allowed to come in by acclamation.

One more remark, and I have done: and that principally to introduce a topic hitherto perhaps but slightly touched, the natural similitude between Horace and Cicero, as belonging to the same age, in the language of literature and of morals and of civil life, common to both, along with the illustration, which from that source may be occasionally derived, to the writings of Horace.

In a well known passage of the Epistle to the Pisos, that old reading,

26, 7. —— Sectantem *levia* nervi
Deficiunt animique.

had kept possession, perhaps undisturbed, till the days of Bentley. He does justice abundantly to the claims of *levia;* and then by one happy quotation from Tully.. *lenitas sine nervis*..turns the scale in favor of *lenia.*

In another passage, where the attribute *demissus,* in its better sense and in its connection with *probus,* had been quite overlooked and even misinterpreted,

1 S. III. 56, 7, 8. ——— *Probus* quis
Nobiscum vivit, multum *demissus* homo? illi
Tardo ac cognomen pingui damus.

Lambinus was the first to catch the true scent, though *in curis secundis* he returned to the old interpretation: Bentley's strong discernment apprehended the truth so suggested, and adopted for the demonstration of it the two sentences from Tully which Lambinus, but without ultimate conviction, originally adduced.

Cic. de Orat. II. 43...eaque omnia, quæ *proborum, demissorum,* non acrium, non pertinacium, non litigiosorum, non acerborum sunt, valde benevolentiam conciliant.

Pro Murenâ, 40. Sit apud vos modestiæ locus, sit *demissis* hominibus perfugium, sit auxilium pudori.

ON

THE METRES

OF

HORACE.

In presenting to Scholars a *new* Treatise on the Metres of Horace, I cannot but anticipate a candid reception for what is so proposed. Whatever has been hitherto done under that title, has seldom exceeded a meagre account (and that not in all points accurate) of the scansion merely, with little or no regard to the verse in its structure. The very latest tract, bearing date 1803,—that which Doering has given as a communication from his friend Sparr, deserves generally the compliment paid by him of being very skilfully and correctly executed. Yet even that, though seldom tainted with absolute error, is greatly deficient in some essential points, as to Horace's earlier and later modes of constructing the same verse. This remark will be strikingly apparent in our account of the Alcaic Stanza; occasionally it will be verified in others also.

If the question be asked on what grounds the present treatise may be entitled to higher consideration as more nearly embracing every desideratum which belongs to the subject; let it be said once for all, that from various sources of critical observation, in which my own professional study for many years had its due share, the work now published has been very diligently composed.

A precise enumeration of the different authors to whom my obligations are due, and partly so in very recent perusal, even with some particularity, will be excused as an act of justice, in this stage the more necessary; because, consistently with any brevity of design, it will not be convenient to acknowledge every item of such debt, where it separately occurs.

1. The late Dr. *Charles Burney*, the *vir doctissimus et mihi longo amicitiæ usu conjunctissimus* of Professor Porson, (ad. *Med.* 89,) in the Monthly Review, Jan. 1798, Vol. xxv., as the author of a critique original at once and elaborate on Samuel Butler's edition of *Marcus Musurus*, prefixed to the publication of *Greek and Latin Odes*, &c., by that distinguished scholar, who since then has borne such a splendid name as the master of Shrewsbury school.

2. The Hon. and Rev. Dr. *William Herbert*, partly as the Editor of *Musæ Etonenses* in 1795, with a short Preface of critical remarks; but far more extensively, as the author of that article in the Edinburgh Review, (No. xii. July, 1805, pp. 357—386,) on *Mitford's Harmony of Language:* in which not only is the claim of *accent* brought forward to share with *quantity* in the regulation and cadence of Latin verse, but after a full demonstration of that point a clue also is given to trace the gradual progress by which accent superseded quantity in European metre. Let me here acknowledge the more recent and personal obligation conferred in Dr. Herbert's correspondence with me, and in the opportunity granted to benefit by the nice powers of discrimination which he possesses in so extraordinary a degree.

3. The Editor of *Musæ Cantabrigienses*, 1810, as having contributed a neat conspectus of practical observations on the structure of the third verse of the Alcaic stanza.

4. The celebrated Professor *Hermann*, as the author of *Elementa Doctrinæ Metricæ*, Leipsig, 1816; Glasgow,

reprinted, 1817: a work justly styled by Dr. Parr, "the enlarged and improved edition of his admirable book, *De Metris*."

5. *Sparr*, as the author of *Metra Horatii Lyrica*, in Doering's Horace, 1803 and 1815, already mentioned; who refers his readers for deeper knowledge of the subject to *Hermann's Manual of Metres*, 1799.

6. Mr. *Philip Homer*, late one of the Masters at Rugby School, and his friend Dr. *John Sleath*, now with every honour and affection attached to his name, (*crescit laude recens*,) the High Master of St. Paul's; as the Authors of *Remarks* on the Latin Alcaic and Sapphic Metres exhibited in the *Odes of Horace*, 1824.

Those ingenious Remarks, principally undertaken to show the reason why certain modes of structure are more productive of harmony than others, originated confessedly from that article of mine in the Classical Journal, No. XXII., July, 1815, pp. 351—6, which bears the following title.

7. *Sketch of the Scansion and Structure of the Alcaic Stanza in Horace*, dated in January, 1814, and communicated in May, 1815; on the basis of a schedule of all the verses in that metre (according to their classes of structure, especially those in the third line) drawn up early in the year 1805.

In the sketch here mentioned, except as far as the schedule alluded to is concerned, my sources of knowledge were directly and entirely derived from Dr. Charles Burney. The prevalent modes of structure in the Alcaics of Horace, as to the constituent words, with those either rejected by him after some trial, or evidently not his favourite modes, I stated in that paper many years ago with sufficient exactness perhaps as to the *fact*: of the *reasons* for all this, arising from the restrictions which accentual cadence demands, I have only learned to estimate the true value, in a careful perusal very lately bestowed on Dr. Herbert's article in the Edinburgh Review. And my present intention is, on that

authority, to illustrate, in some of the most striking instances, the connection existing betwixt the places of accent in Horatian metre, and the legitimate structure of the verse. For a complete and satisfactory view of the subject in all its bearings, the reader must be referred to the pages of the original article.

Before proceeding to the task itself *de Metris Horatianis*, it may be prudent if not necessary to define the end proposed in that labour. In all the metres I shall hope to make the structure of the verse as well as the scansion understood; while in the most important of them, especially those much in use for exercises of imitative composition, I shall indulge greater latitude of practical detail. Agreeably to that view and purpose, the nineteen denominations in Horace will be treated of thus. Those in the Epodes, (numbered I. to VII.,) which in the just order of publication now stand first, may in general be dispatched with less of ceremonious regard; and those in the Odes, (VIII. to XII.,) hardly lyrical measures, either from difficult construction abandoned after one or two experiments, or from whatever cause not much favoured by Horace, will occupy a briefer notice, but still with sufficient correctness. Thus, a larger consideration may be fairly granted to verses of that species (XIII. to XVII.) which has its character from the Choriambus interposed: and a still more extensive space will thus be allowed to the two principal metres (XVIII. and XIX.) in the Sapphic and the Alcaic stanza.

METRES I. TO VII.

And first of the Epodes; of which the name has been, in P. D. p. 10, already explained.

METRE I. EPODE I. Iambic trimeter (1) and dimeter (2).

(1) Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
(2) Amice, propugnacula.

The *scansion* of the trimeter (1) runs thus, in all its admissible feet, some of them very rarely admitted.

1	2	3	4	5	6
⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –	– ⏑	⏑ ⏓
⏑ ⏑ ⏑	⏑ ⏑ ⏑	⏑ ⏑ ⏑	⏑ ⏑ ⏑		
– –		– –		– –	
– ⏑ ⏑		– ⏑ ⏑			
⏑ ⏑ –					

To the exclusion of the anapest in 5to from the table here given (a foot so frequent in the Senarii of Seneca) there are but three instances of apparent objection, which when examined disappear.

Ep. II. 35. Pavidumque leporem et advenam lăquĕō gruem,

(which is a very rare instance of a line otherwise irregular.) Read laque*ō* in two syllables, as alv*eō*,

3 C. VII. 28. Tusco denatat alv*eō*.

These two peculiarities,

Ep. V. 79. Priusque cœlum sidet infĕrĭūs mari.

— XI. 23. Nunc gloriantis quamlibet mŭlĭĕrculam.

turning similarly on the vowels, may safely be placed on the same footing with Virgil's Geo. II. 482.

Fluviorum rex Eridanus.....

and as that is pronounced Fluv*y*orum in three syllables, we need not scruple surely so to pronounce infer*y*us and mul*y*erculam likewise.

The *structure* of the trimeter requires a cæsura, or division of words, after the penthemimer usually.

⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ || – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓

Ep. II. 1. Beatus ille || qui procul negotiis...

or after the hepthemimer sometimes,

– – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ || – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓

Ibid. 19. Ut gaudet insitiva || decerpens pyra.

And here comes in the curious question of *accentual cadence.*

The words of the Romans then were accented by an invariable rule (and do we not now follow a similar rule in reading Latin?) namely, that if the penult be long, it shall be accented, as *amábam;* if it be short, the antepenult shall be accented, whether long or short, as *amáveram*, *potúeram.*

All monosyllables were accented; and in these pages, if not so marked, may be always so reckoned. Only, enclitics like *que*, *ve*, *ne*, must be taken as forming part of the preceding word. Thus,

Ep. II. 45. *Claudénsque* téxtis....

Now for the application. The Iambic trimeter in its legitimate construction, whatever other accent it has, takes a leading one on the sixth place: or if not so, then it usually requires to be accented on the fourth and the eighth. Thus,

Ep. I. 3. Paratus omne Cæ'saris periculum..

—— 7. Utrumne jússi persequémur otium.

The leading accent on the sixth, though generally with penthemimeral cæsura, and at the beginning of a word as in Cæ'saris above, may yet be otherwise circumstanced, as,

Ep. I. 15. Roges, tuum labóre quid juvem meo.

and

Ep. II. 19. Ut gaudet insitíva decerpens pyra.

Nay, more:

Ep. I. 19. Ut assidens implúmibus pullis avis,

is an Iambic verse, because the sixth is accented: whereas

Ut assidens púllis ávis deplumibus,

though exactly the same as to quantities, would not be a verse, on account of the wrong position of the accents.

A similar remark may be made on

Ep. XI. 15. Quod si meis inæ'stuat præcordiis,

as having neither cæsura; and yet it is an Iambic verse from the correctness of its leading accent.

In long words constituted like *inverecundus*, if not in

others, the Romans may seem to have admitted a secondary accent on the first syllable: a supposition which would restore propriety to the following verse,

Ep. xi. 13. Simul caléntis ínverecúndus deus.

It remains to be noticed as a singular fact, that of verses constructed like

Ep. i. 7. Utrumne júsai | persequémur | otium,

many examples occur in Terence as his Prologues alone may testify, in the Epodes of Horace, and in the Fables of Phædrus; yet in the Tragedies which bear the name of Seneca, not a single instance can be found of a verse constituted like that above.

Iambic dimeter (2).

The *scansion* of this verse as to its predominant and admissible feet:

⏑–	⏑–	|	⏑–	⏑⏓
––	⏑⏑⏑	|	––	
–⏑⏑		|		

In the dimeter the ⏑⏑– initial, though from the trimeter not excluded, seems inadmissible. Casimir Sarbievius uses it,

Epod. i. 18. Metuenda jaceret fulmina.

As to the *structure*, it is worthy of observation, that a verse from its composition accented like the following,

C. Sarb. Ep. v. 2. Non núdus énsium tímor,

though a just dimeter as to quantity, is never found in Horace, nor in any author of the early ages.

Now as the iambus itself is used freely in the third place, this combination might have occurred very often, if it had not been purposely avoided. In what then does the faultiness of that line consist? Clearly in this, that it bears the accentual cadence peculiar to a very different kind of verse, the Glyconic: of which verse,

4 C. iii. 11. Et spíssæ némorum cómæ.

is a very common form; and it may be better contrasted perhaps with Dr. Herbert's fictitious example,

Et spíssa móntium cóma,

than with the real faulty dimeter given above from Sarbievius.

Metre ii. Epode xi. Iambic dimeter (1) as in Metre i. (1), and with *Elegiambus* (2) so called.

(1) Petti, nihil me sicut antea juvat

(2) Scribere versiculos | amore perculsum gravi.

(2) This verse consists of two parts; the first like the latter half of the Dactylic pentameter

–⏑⏑ –⏑⏑ ⏓

but unlimited in the mode of its construction; with the last syllable indifferently long or short, and even as in vv. 14, 24, with the hiatus of a long vowel before a vowel initial in the next portion of the verse.

Fervidiora mero | arcana promorat loco.

Vincere mollitiâ | amor Lycisci me tenet.

The second part is the Iambic dimeter (but without -⏑⏑ initial) as in Metre i. (2).

For the meaning of the term *asynartete* (ἀσυνάρτητος) applied to the metre (2) of this distich, Dr. Bentley's learned note affords full satisfaction: the following extract contains the essential part of it.—"Sub primis Poeticæ artis initiis simplici pede versus decurrebant, Heroicus dactylo, Trochaicus et Iambicus uterque suo; nisi ubi pes omnibus illis cognatus, Spondeus, interponebatur, quo versus, ut Noster ait, *tardior paullo graviorque ad aures veniret.* Postea, ut varietatis gratiam aucuparentur, cola quædam sive partes Heroici versus cum colis Trochaici generis vel Iambici, et vicissim, in unum versum miscebant; unde magnus novorum versuum numerus illico nascebatur: quos Græci magistri Ἀσυναρτήτους, hoc est, *inconnexos* vocabant; quia alterum colon altero

diversi generis connecti et coagmentari non potest, utcumque uno versiculo utrumque sit conclusum."

METRE III. EPODE XII. Dactylic hexameter (1) with Dactylic tetrameter (2).

(1) Quid tibi vis, mulier, nigris dignissima barris?

(2) Munera quid mihi, quidve tabellas.

Of the common hexameter (1) there is little to remark; and that is quite obvious.

Of the tetrameter (2), which has its *scansion* thus (1 C. XXVIII. 2, alone excepted)....

— ◡◡ —◡◡ —◡◡ —◡

— — — —

the *structure* also is easily discerned.

METRE IV. EPODE XIII. Dactylic hexameter (1) as in Metre III. (1), with *Iambelegus* (2) so called.

(1) Horrida tempestas cœlum contraxit, et imbres

(2) Nivesque deducunt Jovem; | nunc mare, nunc silüæ.

(2) This line, one of the class of verses, *asynartetes*, already mentioned in Metre II. consists of two parts, the first Iambic dimeter, as in Metre I. (2); and the second like the latter half of the Dactylic pentameter.

In fact, the Iambelegus is the inverse of the Elegiambus: its Iambic part has the last syllable indifferently long or short, but betwixt the two parts no hiatus occurs.

METRE V. EPODE XIV. Dactylic hexameter (1) as in Metre III. (1), with Iambic dimeter (2) as in Metre I. (2).

(1) Mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis

(2) Oblivionem sensibus.

METRE VI. EPODE XVI. Dactylic hexameter (1) as before, with Iambic trimeter (2) as in Metre I. (1).

(1) Altera jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas,

(2) Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.

The verse (2) is purely Iambic, and so far very peculiar.

METRE VII. EPODE XVII. Iambic trimeter as M. I. (1), and that alone.

Jamjam efficaci do manus scientiæ.

METRES VIII. TO XII.

Now of the Metres hardly to be called lyrical.

METRE VIII. 1 C. IV. (1) Dactylic tetrameter + three Trochees, with (2) Iambic trimeter wanting a syllable at the close.

(1) Solvitur acris hiems grata vice | veris et Favoni,
(2) Trahuntque siccas | machinæ carinas.

The verse (1) has this *scansion*, differing in the 4th foot from Metre III. (2).

—⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ —⏑⏑ | —⏑ —⏑ —⏓
— — — — — — |

and the *divisio vocum* is constantly observed betwixt the Dactylic part and the Trochaic.

The verse (2) in fact consists of two parts, which, having the *divisio vocum* constantly, may be scanned according to the structure; the one Iambic, and the other as in (1) Trochaic.

⏑— ⏑— — | —⏑ —⏑ —⏓
— — |

Cas. Sarbievius when writing in this metre, violates the law of cæsura in (1).

2 Lyr. XX. 53. Nec quæ dispositis toga luxuri | osior lapillis.

nor has he any authority from Horace for a line constructed (as with him it often is) with the Dactyl in 4to formed by one word.

Ibid. v. 1. Qualis ubi Phrygiâ Jovis | armiger || educatus Idâ.

METRE IX. 4 C. VII. (1) Dactylic hexameter, as before, with (2) the latter half of a Dactylic pentameter.

(1) Diffugere nives: redeunt jam gramina campis,
(2) Arboribusque comæ.

METRE X. 1 C. VIII. (1) one Choriambus (–⏑⏑–) initial followed by Bacchius (⏑– –) or Amphibrach (⏑–⏑), with (2) Sapphicus major, or the long Sapphic.

(1) Lydia, dic per omnes
(2) Te deos óro | Sýbarin | cur properes amando.

The verse (1) has its *scansion* thus,

–⏑⏑– ⏑–⏓

and for *structure* always has a Dactylic word or a Dactylic combination to begin with, so as to exclude the accent on the third syllable:

Sæpe | tímor | fugavit,

accordingly, would be illegitimate.

The verse (2) has for its *scansion* the Epitritus secundus (–⏑– –) with two choriambi and a trisyllabic ending like (1).

–⏑– – –⏑⏑– –⏑⏑– ⏑–⏓

and for *structure* it has two regular cæsuras as in the quoted line.

The following construction, it is evident, would violate the accentual cadence of the verse,

Te deos orámus | I'tyn cur properes amando..

as well as the law of the cæsura.

METRE XI. 2 C. XVIII. (1) Trochaic of seven syllables. (2) Iambic trimeter wanting a syllable, as in M. VIII. (2).

(1) Non ebur neque aureum
(2) Mea renidet | in domo lacunar.

Verse (1) has its *scansion* thus,

– ◡ – ◡ – ◡ ⏓

without any thing to remark in its structure.

Verse (2) in *scansion* differs from its model above referred to only once.

v. 34. Regumque *pueris* nec satelles Orci,

where the tribrach (◡◡◡) in 2do, if that deserves notice, might be avoided, and on some authority, by reading Regumque *natis*. . instead.

METRE XII. 3 C. XII. Ionic a minore (◡◡ – –).

Miserarum est | nec amori | dare ludum | neque dulci,

according to Dr. Bentley, (by whose critical erudition here also the reader may benefit,) consists of four Stanzas, each of ten feet, agreeably to the following scheme:

◡◡ – – ◡◡ – – ◡◡ – – ◡◡ – –
◡◡ – – ◡◡ – – ◡◡ – – ◡◡ – –
◡◡ – – ◡◡ – –

The cæsura betwixt the several feet (as in vv. 5, 7, 8, 12) is not strictly observed; though by the above distribution all awkwardness is avoided betwixt one line and another.

Cas. Sarbievius, adopting this metre in one of his compositions, 2 Lyric. XXVIII., has made the stanza consist of two trimeters and one tetrameter; and violates the synaphea or continuity of scansion betwixt line and line, (vv. 5, 6, 9, 10,) which in Horace from first to last is observed.

METRES, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII.

Five Metres are here classed together, from the *interposed* Choriambus, so called, common to them all; that is, from one or more Choriambi interposed between a Spondee initial and an Iambic foot (⏑⏓) at the close.

METRE XIII. 1 C. XI. The Long Alcaic, consisting of three Choriambi interposed in that manner.

— — — ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓

Such is the *scansion:* its cæsural *structure*, as marked in that scheme, is once only neglected in the 32 such lines written by Horace, and that in a compounded word.

1 C. XVIII. 16. Arcanique Fides | prodiga per | lucidior vitro.

The Polish Poet, apparently from affectation, has done this with great license both of cæsura and of accent.

3 Lyric. XVII. AD TIBERIM. vv. 4, 5.

Quid per plana, per abrupta, per impervia lubricum
Vectigal domino;deproperas Nereidum patri ?

METRE XIV. 1 C. I. The Asclepiadean verse, or the Asclepiad.

Mæcenas, atavis edite regibus.

The *scansion* and *structure* are seen together in the following scheme:

— — — ⏑ ⏑ — | — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓

This verse constantly preserves the cæsura as here marked, except in two instances.

4 C. VIII. 17. Non incendia Car | thaginis impiæ..

2 C. XII. 25. Dum flagrantia de | torquet ad oscula...

The latter example perhaps may be defended or excused on the same ground with the Alcaic verse,

1 C. xxxvii. 5. Antehac nefas de | promere Cæcubum..

Metre xv. 1 C. iii. (1) Glyconic so called. (2) Asclepiad as in Metre xiv.

(1) Sic te diva potens Cypri

(2) Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,

The verse (1) has its *scansion* thus,

– – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓

without any deviation: for the line 1 C. xv. 36. as sometimes edited, with - ⏑ initial,

Ignis Iliacas domos...

should unquestionably stand thus corrected:

Ignis Pergameas domos.

On the authority of the worse reading, however, Casimir has occasionally erred.

4 Lyric. xvi. 47. Jussit ire Borysthenem.

In this verse also the nicety of accentuation, which is necessary, deserves to be remarked. And the fictitious line,

Velóces pér ágros cánes,

though correct in scansion and quantity, is not, however, a Latin verse, because it has not the right accentual cadence observed in the Glyconic: it has that of a verse generically different, the Iambic dimeter,

Ep. vi. 16. Inúltus út flébo púer.

One real line, faulty in that very way from the pen of the elegant Grotius, which closes his Hymn of Zacharias paraphrased, may show, that Dr. Herbert's remark here recorded does not guard against an imaginary error.

Secúrum pér íter pédes.

METRE XVI. 1 C. VI. (1, 2, 3) Asclepiadean, as in M. XIV. (4) Glyconic, as in M. XV.

Scriberis Vario fortis, et hostium
Victor, Mæonii carminis aliti,
Quam rem cunque ferox navibus aut equis
Miles, te duce, gesserit.

METRE XVII. 1 C. V. (1, 2) Asclepiadean, as before in M. XIV. (3) Pherecratian. (4) Glyconic, as before in M. XV.

Quis multâ gracilis te puer in rosâ
Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus.
(3) Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro:
Cui flavam religas comam...

verse (3) has this *scansion*

- - - ᴗ ᴗ - -

The last syllable is always long; and twice only with hiatus, in a long vowel, 1 C. XXIII. 3. 8. a nicety not much observed by later writers of this Horatian stanza.

In the verse (3) also, the just collocation of the accents may not be neglected; which Casimir, however, has once or twice disregarded.

For instance,

4 Lyric. XXVIII. 7. Raptámus, puerórum...

is accented in a way quite unknown to Horace: it has the very same cadence with the Ionic a minore, Tenerórum puerórum, a different species of verse; and though with the same quantity, is as unlike as can be imagined to (1 C. V. 7.)

Nígris æ'quora véntis.

No ear could confound the verse of Horace with that of Casimir.

The Christian Poet, PRUDENTIUS, (circ. 400 A.D.) has constructed a system of his own out of the third, second, and first (in that order) of these interposed Choriambics; for which, in the nomenclature sometimes applied to Horace's Odes, the name would stand thus:

τρίκωλος τρίστροφος,

denoting that there are three kinds of verse, and then that three lines form the strophe or stanza.

The following specimen is taken from the *Proœmium* to his *Carmina*, and only by one blemish at v. 6. discovers any incorrectness in the composition.

Per quinquennia jam decem,
Ni fallor, fuimus: septimus insuper
Annum cardo rotat, dum fruimur sole volubili.
Instat terminus, et diem
Vicinum senio jam Deus applicat:
Quid nos utile tan | ti spatio temporis egimus?
Ætas prima crepantibus
Flevit sub ferulis: mox docuit toga
Infectum vitiis falsa loqui, non sine crimine.

Let me take this opportunity, in the words of Dr. Herbert, to call the attention of scholars to the splendid passage at the end of *Prudentius contra Symmachum*, concerning the vestal virgins: it begins,

v. 1069. Captivus pudor ingratis addicitur aris,

and is inferior to nothing of the same kind in Juvenal.

METRE XVIII. 1 C. II.

THE SAPPHIC STANZA.

(1, 2, 3.) The Sapphic verse commonly so called:
(4.) The Adonic verse, – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑̄.

A. **Jam satis terris | nivis atque diræ**
Grandinis misit pater, et rubente
Dextera sacras jaculatus arces,
Terruit urbem.

The first three verses have their *scansion* thus,

– ⏑ – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑̄,

the Epitritus secundus and the Choriambus, followed by Bacchius (⏑– –) or Amphibrach(⏑–⏑), as in the close of Metre x, the Sapphicus major.

On comparing this Metre with that, the difference will at once be seen to consist in one Choriambus more or less. Thus,

1 C. VIII. 6. Inter æquales equitat, Gallica nec lupatis . . .

is altered into the common Sapphic by an omission to that amount.

Inter æquales equitat lupatis.

Its *structure* generally coincides with that of (A.) the first line above. Sometimes, however, it admits this variation,

B. 1 C. X. 1. Mercuri, facunde, | nepos | Atlantis . . .

and this, but less frequently,

C. 4 C. II. 33. Concines majore | Poeta | plectro.

And the only clear deviation from one or other of these forms occurs in describing the dithyrambic boldness of Pindar,

4 C. II. 9. Laureâ | donandus | Apollinari.

The relative position of its *accents* remains to be considered: and the cadence of the Sapphic is regulated in the form A, by being accented on the 6th syllable, or on the 4th and 8th.

Grandinis misit Páter, et rubente
Dexterâ sácras jaculátus arces . . .

In the occasional varieties of form under B and C, the accent is admitted on the 5th and 7th, or on the 5th and 8th:

B. Mercuri, facúnde, népos Atlantis . . .

C. Concines majóre Poéta plectro.

which modes of accentuation are compatible with a disyllabic beginning as well as with the trisyllabic just given.

B. Fervet, immensúsque rúit profundo . . .

C. Lenis Ilithyía, tuére matres.

With all this diversity of forms in the verse, under such limitations as structure and accent so combined will permit, modern writers of the Sapphic Ode have not been content; or rather they have not been acquainted with it. Amongst instances in abundance from the revival of letters to the present day, the following out of the *Musæ Etonenses* may serve for sufficient illustration of scansion correct and structure violated.

Vol. I. p. 28. v. 1. Pertinax | et luxurians juventa . . .
——— p. 169. v. 25. Hortuli dat | primitias aprici.

Verses like these admit of no defence even from the authority of Catullus, who wrote the Sapphic stanza in all its Greek freedom, as yet unchecked by the severer genius of the Latin: for even the following lines,

XI. 6. 23. Seu Sacas | săgittiferosque | Parthos.
Ultimi flos | prætereunte | postquam . . .

evidently afford a different certainly, if not a more pleasing, structure.

If, however, in the versification of modern scholars we have to condemn unlicensed deviations from the models of Horace, we shall find in the formal practice of those early Poets who came after him, something more remarkable in the opposite direction.

In Statius, for example, and in Prudentius, we remark a decided predilection for the structure (A) so denoted here, with the cadence of accent on the 6th syllable, or of that required on the 4th and the 8th.

The Sapphics of Statius, 4 Silv. VII., from his affection for the one cæsura after the 5th syllable and its concomitant accentuation, have a very monotonous sound to the ear after the rich varieties of Horace; while Prudentius at so much later a period exhibits the same preference for unvaried harmony, giving indeed a much stronger proof of it in one Sapphic Poem of 200 lines without a single deviation from the structure alluded to. That Hymn, in honour of the eighteen Martyrs, presents, on the other hand, the two following examples:

v. 57. Sola in occursum | numerosióres . . .

v. 195. Spes ut absolvam | retinaculórum . . .

which cannot be said to have the requisite character, the 6th syllable accented; unless polysyllabic words of that dimension (which seems not improbable) had then got an accent on their 1st syllable as well as on their 5th.

An observation arises here, so important if connected with the chronology of Horace's books as originally published, that the reader will hardly fail to take some interest in the detail which follows.

In the first and second books of the Odes, that peculiar

form of the Sapphic here marked (B) is very sparingly, some seven times in all, introduced. In the third book, though otherwise (it will be seen) distinguished as an era in Horace's alteration of the Alcaic, not a single departure from the form (A) of the Sapphic line is anywhere admitted; while the form (C) has never yet appeared at all. Pass to the Carmen Sæculare and the fourth book; and you find the form (C) for the first time introduced, with the form (B) more largely than before, contributing to the improvement and variety of the stanza.

Under these circumstances, let us look to the *Nouvelle Distribution* (already alluded to, P. D. p. 13) devised by M. Sanadon; and see whether he bestows any notice either on the progessive stages, so well defined, by which Horace carried that lyrical metre to its ultimate perfection, or on the temporary doubt, betrayed in his third book, whether he was right or not in admitting the first step of variety. In the face of these striking facts then, as now to us they must appear, demonstrating the separate entireness of the third book from those before, and from the fourth book with the Carmen Sæculare which followed, M. Sanadon, on a fancied plan of his own, tears the whole twenty-six Sapphic Odes (except a few omitted) from all their ancient neighbourhood, and scatters them ad libitum, far and wide, over his *nouvelle distribution!*

After tracing with this exactness the commencement, the halt or retrograding, and the satisfactory close, of Horace's career in Sapphic versification, it remains briefly here to show on what general ratio of the different modes of structure any composition in that metre should be formed, so as best to coincide with the practical model of the Poet's own mature judgment. The Carmen Sæculare then, one of his two longest Odes in that verse, may be fairly taken for the purpose; and with sufficient accuracy of proportion, it presents the following result, to combine more or less, in every

twelve of the longer verses, nine of the common form A, with two and one of the varieties in B and C respectively. Let the last Stanza of the C. S. which happens to contain them all, represent the three forms, with their order inverted.

C. 1. Hæc Jovem sentire | deosque | cunctos
B. 2. Spem bonam certamque | domum | reporto,
A. 9. Doctus et Phœbi chorus et Dianæ
Dicere laudes.

And now after expatiating so long on the principal matters, we shall dismiss the minuter points (though they too may not be disregarded) with a few remarks for caution and for reference.

The occasional synaphea, when a word overflows into the Adonic, is sufficiently known from the following amongst several instances,

1 C. II. 19, 20. Labitur ripâ, Jove non probante, ux-
orius amnis.

That closeness of union betwixt the third line and the fourth (observed by Sappho) is sometimes neglected by Horace; who leaves the termination *um* not cut off or the *vowel* in hiatu before the Adonic; as

1 C. II. 47. Neve te nostris vitiis iniqu*um*
*O*cyor aurâ, &c.

—- XII. 9. Unde vocalem temere insecut*æ*
*O*rphea silvæ.

Some instances here and there occur of the strict synaphea betwixt the second and third lines.

2 C. II. 18, 19. Dissidens plebi numero beator*um*
*E*ximit virtus.

4 C. II. 22, 3. ——— animumque mores*que*
*A*ureos educit in astra, ...

The connection between the sense of two lines made by *et* or *ac*, under circumstances like the following, is freely allowed; and twice together, if necessary.

2 C. VI. 1. Septimi Gades aditure mecum, *et*
Cantabrum indoctum juga ferre nostra, *et*
Barbaras Syrtes.

Of all these niceties Professor Hermann (notwithstanding the adage, *Aquila non captat muscas*) has given a very accurate detail, lib. III. cap. XVI. Glasgow Edition, pp. 444, 5, 6.

Finally, as in the other metres sometimes, so in this, *after elision*, the convenient copulate *et* is privileged to form the cæsural syllable,

1 C. XXXII. 13. O decus Phœbi, *et* | dapibus supremi, &c.

In this verse

3 C. XI. 50. Dum favet nox | *et* Venus : i secundo...

the effect is awkward altogether.

One instance occurs also where *an* has the same privilege.

3 C. XXVII. 38, 9. ——— Vigilansne ploro
Turpe commiss*um*? *an* | vitio carentem, &c.

METRE XIX. 1 C. IX.

THE ALCAIC STANZA.

(1, 2) Two Iambic feet *cum longâ* in five syllables with cæsura, followed by two Dactylic feet, generally by a Dactyl and a Cretic. (3) Iambic of nine syllables, but with peculiar limitation. (4) Two Dactyls followed by two Trochaic feet.

Vides, ut alta | stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec jam | sustineant onus
Silvæ laborantes, geluque
Flumina constiterint acuto?

The first and second lines have their *scansion* thus.

⏓ – ⏑ – – | – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ×

The third thus always,

⏓ – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – ⏓

The fourth thus,

– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ×.

1. In the *first* and *second* lines, through the first and second books, a marked preference of the Spondaic begining to the Iambic is quite obvious: this becomes more striking still through the third book: and the fourth book has not one instance, even with a polysyllabic word as in the third, much less with a dissyllabic word initial, of an Iambus thus placed:

1 C. xxxi. 17. Frui | paratis, et valido mihi . . .

3 C. i. 2. Favete | linguis: carmina non prius . . .

—— 26. Tumultuosum . . .

In addition to the fact already adduced, P. D. p. 13, of the more severe model of structure in the third line introduced by Horace into the latter books of his Odes, we have here shown that in other points also a fine sensibility of ear led him to yet nicer improvements as congenial to the Latin tongue; which in imitative composition must now be regarded, if any respect is due to the authority of Horace.

2. The following cases of *elision* may deserve a brief notice.

Of elisions after the cæsura like the following,

1 C. xxxiv. 13. Mutare, et insign*em* | attenuat Deus.

3 C. i. 5. Regum timendor*um* | in proprios greges.

there are not quite twenty in all.

The enclitic *que*, elided thus, seems very rare,

1 C. XXXV. 10. Urbesque gentes*que* | et Latium ferox.

A few instances occur, where the elided word ends with a *short* vowel;

3 C. IV. 6. ——— audir*e* | et videor pios . . .

and a few also in words like invis*i*, sub di*o*, incest*o*, redonab*o*.

Of a word at the end of the *first* line elided before *et* in sense belonging to the *second*, the following with a few others are instances.

1 C. IX. 13. Quid sit futurum cras, fuge quærer*e*, et
Quem sors dierum, &c.

3 C. XXIX. 9. Fastidiosam desere copi*am*, et
Molem propinquam, &c.

——— 49. Fortuna sævo læta negoti*o*, et
Ludum insolentem, &c.

In two instances, *neque* at the conclusion of the *second* verse commences a new sentence with the *third*,

3 C. I. 38. Scandunt eodem quo dominus; *neque*
Decedit ærata, &c.

3 C. XXIX. 46. Quodcunque retro est, efficiet; *neque*
Diffinget, &c.

The case of *consilium* and *principium* is peculiar.

3 C. IV. 41. Vos lene consil*ium* et datis, et dato
Gandetis almæ.

—— VI. 6. Hinc omne princip*ium*, huc refer exitum.

Here too, in the example from Virgil already adduced,

Geo. II. 482. Fluv*io*rum rex Eridanus . . .

which must have been pronounced fluv*y*orum, we find an immediate solution for the difficulty; if the two words are

but allowed to have that pronunciation, consil*y*um and prin-cip*y*um, each in three syllables.

And here it may not be impertinent to remark, that in the hexameters of Virgil the genitives, servit*ii*, auxil*ii*, &c., though commodious to the verse, never appear; while Horace uses only the old forms, consil*i* and imper*i*, 3 C. IV. 65. 4 C. XV. 14. On the transition from the single *i* to the double *ii* (as Ovid has it) in the later days of Augustus, vid. Bentley's note, Andria. Act II. Sc. I. v. 20.

3. Let us now proceed to the subject of *structure*, in some of its more important points.

The place of the cæsura is accurately observed, except in the following extraordinary cases,

1 C. XXXVII. 14. Mentémque lymphâ | tam Mareótico . . .

4 C. XIV. 17. Spectándus ín cert | ámine Mártio . . .

the latter of which from the distribution of the accents is far less faulty than the former.

Of the three instances which follow, the cæsura may perhaps be saved by the emphatic preposition of the compound verb in the second, but hardly so in the other two, although relieved perhaps by the elision.

1 C. XVI. 21. Hostile aratr*um* *e*xercitus insolens . . .

1 C. XXXVII. 5. Antehac nefas *de* | promere Cæcubum . . .

2 C. XVII. 21. Utrumque nostr*um* *i*ncredibili modo . . .

Not one of the three peculiarities is repeated in the latter books.

4. The consideration of *accentual cadence* here returns upon us. That cadence usually requires the leading accent to fall on the fourth syllable, as,

1 C. IX. 5, 6. Dissolve frígus . . Large repónens . . .

or in entire words like the following, as,

3 C. I. 25, 6. Desiderántem . . . Tumultuósum . . .

Several instances, however, occur of the accent falling on the second and fifth syllables, where the fifth is a monosyllabic word connected in sense with what follows: and as they are all except one in the latter books, Horace must have admitted that variety on purpose, absolute sameness being more offensive than occasional deviations even from the best general model.

2 C. III. 22. Nil ínterest, án | pauper et infimâ . . .

4 C. IV. 69. Carthágini jám | non ego nuntios . . .

4 C. XIV. 41. Te Cántaber, nón | ante domabilis.

Add to these also the following, 3 C. v. 13. 33; XXI. 10. 4 C. IV. 37; XIV. 33. 45.

Under this peculiarity in the cæsural syllable, a few other instances may be classed.

3 C. II. 6. In rebus: ill*um ex* | mœnibus hosticis.

— V. 10. Ancilior*um et* | nominis et togæ.

— VI. 22. Matura virgo; et fingitur artubus.

5. The detail of final syllables when any line, as the first or second, ends with a vowel before a vowel initial in the next line, will hardly deserve separate consideration here: and yet it may be worth the while to stop and remark upon the particular transition betwixt the third line and the fourth, inasmuch as the hiatus involved in that is rare in the two first books, while it occurs only once in the third book, and in the fourth not at all.

3 C. v. 11, 12. Oblitus, æternæque Vest*æ*
*I*ncolumi Jove et urbe Roma.

Now in the practice of Casimir we have a very singular contrast to all this. In his stanzas, the open vowel, short or long, occurring commonly at a rate six times as often as in the first and second books of Horace, abundantly indicates the obvious facilities accepted by the one writer, declined and avoided by the other. And under these circumstances,

we cannot well doubt but the Poet of Tivoli from the singular abstinence shown in the two latter books, must have taken especial counsel of his ear in the interval.

6. One remark of literary curiosity, and I have done with this part of the Alcaic Stanza.

James Micyllus, the friend of Melancthon, in his *De Re Metrica Libri Tres.* Francoforti, 1539.—an extraordinary work for that early day, gives specimens of the two first verses, in the following lines,

> Carmen relaxat tædia pectoris,
> Animumque reddit | sæva gementibus.—p. 108, 9.

Evidently in the second example that *dolus qui latet in generalibus*, had led him astray. " An Iambic verse may have an Anapest in primo: but this penthemimer, as far as it goes, is an Iambic verse: therefore," &c. &c. Unfortunately, that which might flow well as the integral part of a Senarius,

> Animumque reddit perditis amantibus ...

when it forms a separate portion of verse, has the very movement with which the Stanza in its fourth line should close. With slight difference, indeed, the words are here actually so employed.

> 1 C. XVI. 26—28. ——— dum mihi
> Fias recantatis amica
> Opprobriis, | animumque reddas.

The third line has its *Scansion* thus,

⏓ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏓

During the greater part of that period from the revival of letters when composition in Latin verse was the favourite task of scholars, to the year 1798, when Dr. Charles Burney

in the Monthly Review, wrote that critique on S. Butler's Marcus Musurus, &c.; little or no suspicion seems to have existed, that the third line of the Alcaic Stanza was any thing else but an Iambic dimeter with one syllable over, *scanned* thus,

⏓ – | ⏑ – || ⏓ – | ⏑ – ⏓

and in the *structure* liable to no restriction whatsoever.

Even those writers who abstained from the *short* in the fifth syllable, which any careful reader of Horace would naturally do, indulged every other license in constructing the verse.

Buchanan and Sarbievius admit the fifth syllable short again and again; and besides some faults peculiar to themselves, violate freely, though in different degrees, every principal rule hereafter mentioned.

As late down as the publication of the *Musæ Anglicanæ*, of which all the Alcaic odes precede in date the year 1711, the general usage allowed that fifth syllable to be occasionally short. Nor was the point otherwise determined, apparently, till Dr. Bentley, in that year, pronounced and defended his judgment in editing the following line of Horace,

2 C. XIX. 15. Disjecta non *leni* ruinâ..

(and yet more fully, on this verse, for a similar reason,

3 C. II. 1. Angustam, *amici*, pauperiem pati.)

The practical correction of an error, so old and so commodious, was far from finding its way immediately into the scholastic exercises of this country.

7. Of the ⏑ – in primo (so very decided is Horace's preference for the long syllable) not more than ten instances occur in all the books, and only two in the third and fourth, thus affording, by the bye, another link in that chain of internal evidence: and in none of those cases does the verse

take a dissyllabic beginning. The following commencement,

1 C. xxix. 7. Puer quis | ex aulâ capillis..

may pass for a quasi-trisyllable perhaps; and the other examples are quite unquestionable.

3 C. iii. 71. Referre sermones deorum.

8. At the end of this verse, the terminations *orum* and *arum* suffer elision, with *et* belonging to the next, five times.

1 C. xxxv. 11. 2 C. xiii. 23. 3 C. iii. 71; vi. 3; xxix. 3.

The termination in arv*um* once, also with triremi, and with Juno, followed by *et*, as in the preceding case, 3 C. xxix. 7; i. 39; iv. 59.

Once this happens with *in* belonging to the next verse after *um* final.

1 C. xxxv. 39. ——— O utinam novâ
Incude diffingas retus*um* *in*
Massagetas Arabasque ferrum.

With these elisions may be classed the following:

2 C. iii. 27. Sors exitura, et nos *in* ætern*um*
Exilium impositura cymbæ.

3 C. xxix. 35. Cum pace delabentis Etrus*cum*
In mare.. &c.

9. Now for the *structure*. The two first feet of this verse may not be comprised in a quadrisyllable or separated in two dissyllables.

These lines from Buchanan are faulty in more ways than one.

Ps. cxxv. 23. Tranquillitas | secura pulchræ...

— vii. 35. Cándor, pios | servat, malisque..

The following from Horace,

1 C. xxvi. 11. Húnc Lésbio | sacrare plectro..

2 C. iii. 27. Sórs exitúra et nos in æternum...

not only differ in the words and in the accentuation from those of Buchanan, but are two forms of the verse in the first and second books which in the third and fourth never appear again: Horace has branded them as illegitimate.

10. Nor may this verse, according to his maturer taste decisively shown, terminate with one quadrisyllabic or with two dissyllabic words,

The form

1 C. xxix. Pronos relabi | posse | rivos...

which occurs eight times in the first and second books, and the form

2 C. xix. 19. Nodo coerces | viperino..

which occurs three times in those books, are both of them repudiated entirely from the third and fourth.

By parity of reason, a trisyllabic word with an enclitic, as *que* or *ve*, or other monosyllable, must be excluded also. And on this peculiar string (it is remarked in the Preface to the *Musæ Etonenses*) Sarbievius has erred, but in one instance only.

4 Lyric. i. 55. Pæana dicit, | supplices*que*..

And here let us observe, that the entire rejection by Horace of any modes of structure in his later books which were rare even in his earlier, must have quite escaped the notice of grammarians. To their ignorance in teaching, therefore, may partly be imputed the gross errors committed by modern Latin writers: who would hardly have gone so far wrong in defiance of their great model, if they had been rightly instructed first of all, or if they had looked up to Horace as their only legitimate exemplar afterwards. More

probably, indeed, as in a new school of Latin poetry, they admired what their predecessors had done or emulated what their contemporaries were doing.

11. Where the third verse has what may be called the quinquesyllabic beginning similar to that of the first and second verses, and so far most injurious to variety,

1 C. IX. 11; XVI. 7. Deprœliantes..... Non Liber æque.

if the modes of ending it just mentioned are proscribed, there remains for that purpose only one combination, in a monosyllabic preceding a trisyllabic word,

Deprœliantes | nec cupressi..

Non Liber æque, | non acuta..

But this form of the verse, though made up of ready materials, (as all later practice shows,) has been sparingly employed by Horace, only some forty times in all: and whether from dislike of the structure itself or from growing preference for others of a nobler kind, he has admitted verses so constructed, at the rate only of half as often in the two latter as in the two former books of Odes. Is there nothing supplied by this internal evidence also, in favour of our general argument?

And here a curious and delicate remark, and one which seems to have escaped observation, remains to be brought forward.

Horace then never once has engaged the monosyllabic word in that close union and so far completed sense with the word subjoined to it, which this verse from Buchanan exhibits.

Ps. XI. 7. ——— ut petat
Incogitantes | *e latebris* |
Innocuos animique rectos.

And unless in the case of that false reading (for *in* is unknown to the MSS.),

1 C. XXVII. 19. Quanta laboras *in Charybdi*,

instead of

laborabas Charybdi,

not one instance have we of a preposition and noun, so insulated together.

In the two passages where *in* and *pro* are used, a slight indeed but still perceptible suspension of sound separates the monosyllable from the word immediately following; because that word itself requires to be thrown forward in sustained context with other words in the next verse.

2 C. XIII. 3. Produxit, arbos, in | nepotum Perniciem, &c.

4 C. IX. 23. Excepit ictus pro | pudicis Conjugibus, &c.

All other examples of the monosyllable, with hardly one exception, are so circumstanced, as to require the same sort of perceptible pause: the context cannot otherwise in correct utterance be carried on.

2 C. III. 15. Dum res et ætas et | sororum
Fila trium patiuntur atra.

3 C. I. 43. Delenit usus, nec | Falerna
Vitis Achæmeniumque costum.

4 C. IX. 47. Nomen beati, qui | Deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti, &c. &c.

Then, too, the monosyllabic words used by Horace are evidently of a peculiar class, et, nec, ac, non ; in, pro ; sic, vel, seu, cur ; nunc, mox, cras, jam ; te, me, hac, quis, qui, quem, &c. This minute observation, while it allows a free use of all analogous words, may be considered as prohibiting words of a different character: whatever has been other-

wise done in Alcaic verse since the revival of Letters, not a single monosyllabic verb or noun, occupying the sixth syllable, ever found admission into the 317 stanzas of Horace.

12. The third verse may not end with a dissyllabic word followed by a monosyllable, unless it be an enclitic, as

3 C. XXIX. 55. ——— probam*que*
Pauperiem sine dote quæro.

One form of exception only occurs, it was never repeated:

2 C. XII. 19. Depóne súb laúru méa, | néc
Parce cadis tibi destinatis.

a line without a parallel, as having an accent on the seventh syllable, and not having it, like all others, on the eighth.

13. Of those favourite or allowed forms of the third verse which constitute that keystone as it were of the Alcaic stanza, the following brief enumeration may serve.

The forms most predominant, then, in all the books, with their structure and accentual cadence, are exemplified in this verse,

A. ‒ ‒ ⏑ | ‒ ‒ ‒ | ⏑ ‒ ‒

1 C. IX. 7. Depróme | quadrímum | Sabínâ..

of which the number amounts nearly to 150 out of the whole 317. But under that scheme, let it be understood, we class all the lines which are thus similarly constructed in their component words; except as far as the monosyllabic words having an accent, though not expressed, constitute the difference.

1 C. IX. 19. Lenésque | sub nóctem | susúrri..

4 C. XV. 15. Porrécta | majéstas | ad órtum..

—— IV. 59. Per dámna | per cæ'des | ab ípso..

3 C. XXIII. 7. Rubígin*em* | aut dúlces | alúmni.

—— XXIX. 55. Virtúte | *me* invólvo | probámque.

The form which next in point of number demands our notice,

B. – – | ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – –,

2 C. xv. 7. Spárgent | olivétis | odórem,

is entitled to similar varieties according to the words which compose it.

1 C. xvii. 11. Válles | et Ustícæ | cubántis

3 C. xxix. 15. Cœ'næ | sine aulæ'is | et óstro...

Somewhat inferior in number is the following form:

C. – – ⏑ | – – – – ⏑ | – –

3 C. xxix. 7. Declíve | contempléris | árvum..

in which the middle part, from its very constitution, might be expected to consist much less frequently of single words than of combinations like those which follow.

1 C. xxxvii. 11. Speráre | fortunáque | dúlci

3 C. iv. 27. Devóta | non extínxit | árbor.

The form C. seems to have been studiously sought and preferred in the third and fourth books by Horace's more cultivated ear, being actually found in them ten times oftener than in the first and second. Verses of the form

D. – – | ⏑ – – – ⏑ | – –

are very few in number, as the natural combinations are rare which produce it. Only one case appears of a word in itself sufficiently long.

1 C. xxvii. 3. Mórem | verecundúmque | Bácchum...

2 C. xiii. 19. Róbur | sed improvísa | léti..

3 C. vi. 11. Nóstros | et adjecísse | præ'dam..

4 C. xiv. 35. Pórtus | Alexandría | súpplex.

Of the forms

E. – | – ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – –

2 E. – | – ⏑ – – – ⏑ | – –

the still greater rarity may be referred to the same cause.

1 C. xxvii. 15. Nón | érubescéndis | adúrit..

3 C. ii. 19. Dúlcem | élaborábunt | sapórem..

4 C. iv. 11. Núnc | ín reluctántes | dracónes..

and

2 C. i. 35. Nón | décoloravére | cæ'des.

N.B. In agreement with the suggestion of Dr. Herbert, already brought forward, a secondary accent is here given to the long compound words in the first, second, and fourth lines last quoted.

The verses of the form

F. – – ⏑ – – | – | ⏑ – –

fully considered in § 11, may be the more briefly dismissed here.

These lines,

1 C. xvi. 7. Non Líber æ'que | nón | acúta..

— xxvi. 3. Portáre véntis | quís | sub A'rcto..

— xxxv. 19. Géstans ahéna | néc | sevérus..

— xxvii. 23. Víx illigátum | té | trifórmi..

show the common forms of structure and accentuation.

This case,

2 C. xx. 23. Compésce clamórem | ác | sepúlchri..

occurs only once again, 3 C. v. 43.

And these two, peculiar in their accentual beginning,

1 C. ix. 11. Deprœliántes | néc | cupréssi..

3 C. xvii. 3. Denominátos | ét | nepótum..

(unless a secondary accent be allowed) must be classed with similar commencements of a quinquesyllabic kind (some twenty more or less) which are found in the first and second lines of the stanza.

Under one or other of these six forms as stamped with Horace's mature approbation, every legitimate third verse of the Alcaic stanza may now be reduced; and whatever modes of structure and accentuation differ from these, are virtually excluded from all place in any classical exercise of imitative composition.

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14. On the FOURTH line, which has its *scansion* thus,

— ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡̄

Singularly enough, no scheme of *structure* likely to be adopted seems quite objectionable and bad, except that which exactly coincides with the scansion; as it is unfortunately given in that medley of metres, known by the name of *Pasiphae*,

v. 15. óraque | júngere | quæ'rit | óri...

which, of course, has no parallel in Horace.

The following forms are exhibited in order, according to their numerical predominance.

The form A. is decidedly the most numerous.

— ◡ ◡ — | ◡ ◡ — ◡ | — —

1 C. ix. 12. Néc véteres | agitántur | órni.

——— 20. Cómpósitâ | repetántur | hórâ.

—– xvii. 16. Rúris honórum | opulénta córnu.

—– xxxiv. 8. Egit équos | volucrémque | cúrrum.

3 C. ii. 8. Prospíciens | ét adúlta | vírgo.

B. — ◡ ◡ — | ◡ ◡ — | ◡ — —

1 C. xvii. 8. Néc vírides | métuunt | colúbros.

—– xxvi. 8. Nécte méo | Lámiæ | corónam.

—– xxxi. 4. Sardíniæ | ségetes | ferácis.

3 C. v. 8. Consénuit | socerórum | in árvis.

4 C. xiv. 24. Míttere équum | médios | pér ígnes.

C. – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ – –

1 C. ix. 4.	Flúmina | constíterint | acúto.
—— xvii. 24.	Prœ'lia | néc métues | protérvum.
3 C. iv. 52.	Pélion | imposuísse | Olýmpo.
—— xxix. 36.	In máre | nunc lápides | adésos.

D. – ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ | – –

1 C. xxxiv. 12.	Concútitur, | válet | íma | súmmis.
3 C. i. 16.	Om'ne cápax | móvet | úrna | nómen.
——— 40.	Póst équitem | sédet | átra | cúra.

We have here to remark a singular change in the practice of Horace.

The form (D) above described appears very seldom in the 1st and 2d books: in the 3d and 4th it became so much a favourite as to appear nearly 10 times as often.

2 D. ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ – –

differs from the precedent only by its ending in one quadrisyllabic instead of two dissyllabic words; and the few instances of it are evenly dispersed over the four books.

1 C. ix. 24.	Aút dígito | mále | pertináci.
3 C. xxix. 8.	Telégoni | júga | parricídæ.
4 C. xv. 28.	Ríte déos | príus | apprecáti.

E. – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ | – –

1 C. xvii. 12.	Lévia | personuére | sáxa.
2 C. xiii. 4.	Perníciem | opprobriúmque | pági.
3 C. xxiii. 20.	Fárre pío | ét saliénte | mícâ.

Here also the change in Horace's practice is singular, but in the opposite direction to that of D. The instances, not many in all, occur three times as often in the first two books as in the two latter: the form had apparently gone out of favour with him.

F and 2 F are forms similar enough to be classed together.

F. – ⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ – –
2 F. – ⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ | – –

1 C. xxvii. 16. Cæ'sar | áb Itáliâ | volántem.
3 C. i. 8. Cúncta | supercílio | movéntis.
2 C. xx. 16. A'les, | Hyperboreósque | cámpos.

More than two thirds of all these lines are found as in the classes A, B, D, to commence with – ⏑ ⏑ – | &c.

The class next in number C. consists of those which commence with – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ – | &c.

The principal forms embracing nearly the whole number of 317 have thus been reviewed: of the few that remain, a short notice may suffice. The form | – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ | ⏑ – | ⏑ – –

1 C. ix. 8. O' Thaliárche | mérum | dióta..

occurs very seldom.

In the early books also, a single case of the (here offensive) amphibrach (⏑ – ⏑) occurs, thus:

– ⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑ | ⏑ – | ⏑ – –

1 C. xvi. 12. Téque | tuásque | décet | soróres..

and three only of the following.

– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑ | – –

1 C. xxxi. 16. Mé cichoréa | levésque | málvæ.

and 2 C. i. 36. xiii. 8.

Finally, three lines *sui generis* in singularity may speak for themselves.

3 C. I. 48. Progéniem | vitiosiórem.
— VI. 48. Divítias | operosióres.

and

— V. 56 Aút Lacedæmónium | Taréntum.

London; January 21, 1836.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE METRES.

The boast of Horace,

3 C. XXX. 13, 14. Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos....

that by happy change and adaptation he had transferred the metres of Sappho and Alcæus into the uses of Latin poetry, might require for its full justification a more detailed comparison betwixt his Lyric verses and the remaining fragments of those poets, than need at present be attempted. But for satisfaction generally on this head, the reader is referred to Gaisford's Hephæstion, 1810, to Hermann's Elementa Doctrinæ Metricæ, 1816, and to Charles Burney's article in the Monthly Review, *u. s.*, who was the first scholar to investigate the subject, in 1798.

In the Sapphic Stanza, the Greek preference so decided of a *short* syllable in the 4th place where Horace always has the *long*, as well as numerous varieties of structure, which the *Romanæ fidicen lyræ* could not or would not adopt, have been sufficiently described elsewhere*, and are too well known to require formality of demonstration. Catullus's Sapphic verse also, in these pages already referred to, may easily be consulted, (Odes XI, XLVIII,) to contrast his looser and ruder movement with the regulated cadences of Horace, in that its state of perfection as a Latin metre.

* Greek Metres (J. T.) 4th Edition, pp. 47—51.

In the long Alcaic, that well known verse,

Μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσῃς πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλω...

both begins with the Trochee which Horace (M. XIII.) never admits, and proceeds without that *divisio vocum* which in his practice formed the regular cæsura.

Catullus, accordingly, has these lines amongst several (XXV.) with the cæsura neglected.

1. Alfene immemor, atque unanimis false sodalibus.

8. Inducens in amorem, quasi tuta omnia mi forent.

The Alcaic Stanza, in its first two verses, as we gather from Greek fragments in the pages of Burney, Gaisford, and Hermann, besides admitting the fifth syllable short, which in Horace is always long, almost indifferently used or disregarded the division by a word, which in Horace is hardly ever neglected, betwixt the constituent parts of the verse.

προκόψομεν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀσώμενοι.
χειμὼν, πεπάγασιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥοαί.

The third line of that Stanza, besides much license of structure, has in Greek the fifth syllable freely if not always short, which in the Latin is never otherwise than long.

λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἤδη.

And the fourth line not only has such forms of structure as were admitted by Horace, but even in the few instances preserved, exhibits one at least, which his Roman ear must certainly have rejected.

Ναὶ | φορήμεθα | σὺν μελαίνᾳ.

In the similar adaptation of Glyconic and Pherecratian metre to his purpose, the spondee initial, so fixed by Horace, because congenial to the Latin tongue, may deserve to be briefly exemplified. The first two syllables of that verse, as

instanced from the Tragic Chorus by Gaisford and Hermann, are indifferently – – on the one hand, or ⏑ – and – ⏑ on the other.

S. Theb. 295—301. *τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ποτὶ πύργοις . . .*
ἰάπτουσι πολίταις
χερμάδ' ὀκριόεσσαν.

Philoct. 1124. *πόντου θινὸς ἐφήμενος.*
140. *Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἀνάσσεται.*
1126. *τὰν ἐμὰν μελέου τροφάν.*

The light tripping delicacy, however, of Catullus's Stanza with the favorite Trochee initial, in all respects so very beautiful, is a masterpiece of success, with all the difficulty (*ludentis speciem* dabit, et *torquebitur*) of its inimitable execution.

Torquatus volo parvulus
Matris e gremio suæ
Porrigens teneras manus
Dulce rideat ad patrem
Semihiante labello.—*Manlius et Junia.*

Nothing but the inconsiderate compliment paid by Dr. Bentley, "Epigramma veteris grammatici in PASIPHAEN quo omnes versus Horatianos non ineleganter expressit," could be urged in apology for half a page bestowed upon that Poem. Let so much space be conceded to the exposure of its most flagrant deviations from the model proposed.

v. 7. Optat in *for*mam bovis—

has the *long* syllable in 4to, where Horace (Metre XI.) always has it short.

Non ebur neque aureum.

v. 9. Et Prœtidas | dícit beatas....

may not be defended by that solitary instance in Horace, (Metre XIX. 3.)

Hunc Lesbio | sacráre plectro.

There is some difference even there.

v. 15. Oraque jungere quærit ori...

has been already cited (Metre XIX. 4.) as the only very bad form, quite unknown to Horace; in which the structure is entirely governed by the scansion.

v. 17. Inlicitisque gaudent;

which, with a dactyl precedent, might close the fourth Alcaic line, can hardly be recognised as tallying with the separate verse,

Lydia, | dic per omnes.

(Metre XI. 1.) Not one line is there in the prototype similarly constituted.

To trace the followers of Horace in lyrical imitation, even within the limits of the Alcaic Stanza, is a task not to be attempted here.

The earliest imitator extant appears to have been Statius; whose Ode *ad Sept. Severum* (4 Sylv. v.) so regular and precise in that Metre, has been justly remarked upon as monotonous, when compared with the freedom and variety of Horace. Nor has it escaped the severe judgment of Louth, *De Sacrâ Poesi Hebræorum* (p. 331.) that in merit as a composition, that Ode is very inferior. How well does he describe in what the excellence of Horace's lyric

poetry consists: in exordio obvio, nec nimis exquisito, et in ipsam plerumque rem protinus incurrente; in serie rerum per jucundam varietatem subtiliter et artificiose, sed quasi sponte, deductâ; in clausulâ, sine ullo acumine, leni quodam lapsu in loco forsan minime expectato, et nonnunquam veluti fortuito cadente.

Amongst the moderns, Casimir Sarbievius deservedly ranks perhaps as the highest, the patriot Lyrist of Poland in that her day of greatness and glory; whose minor faults, however, have been freely pointed out in these pages, on account of the very celebrity which has gathered round his name as a Latin Poet.

Muretus, Daniel Heinsius, Grotius, Cardinal Barberini (afterwards Urban VIII.), and our own Milton, might be more rigorously censured (supposing Horace at all the exemplar of their practice) for those neglects of metrical law and the accentual cadence involved in it; which in common with other moderns they largely committed, and which may partly be charged upon the total want in grammarians of any exact knowledge of the subject.

To come down at once to times nearer the present. Even Gray, the Etonian, though exquisite in his observance of the nicest beauty in the hexameters of Virgil, showed himself strangely unacquainted with the rules of Horace's lyric verse. For instance, in the "Mater rosarum," &c., the following stanza is of a nature to startle the classical ear with two or three palpable faults.

> Mirare nec tu me citharæ rudem
> Claúdis laborántem númeris: lóca
> Amœna jucundúmque vér, in-
> compositum docuere carmen.

What a pity too it is, that the "noble imagery and pathetic sentiment" of his Ode on the Grand Chartreuse should be interrupted by a line so jarring and bad as the

second of those below, in a stanza otherwise of such first rate excellence.

> Præsentiorem et conspicimus Deum
> Per ínvias rúpes, féra per juga,
> Clivosque præruptos, sonantes
> Inter aquas nemorumque noctem.

INDEX

TO

PRINCIPAL PASSAGES ADDUCED.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

OPERA.

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Q. HORATII FLACCI

S E R M O N U M

LIBER PRIMUS.

SATIRA I.

Qui fit, Mæcenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
Seu Ratio dederit, seu Fors objecerit, illa
Contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentes?
O! fortunati mercatores, gravis annis
Miles ait, multo jam fractus membra labore. 5
Contra mercator, navim jactantibus austris,
Militia est potior: quid enim? concurritur: horæ
Momento cita mors venit, aut victoria læta.
Agricolam laudat juris legumque peritus,
Sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat. 10
Ille datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est,
Solos felices viventes clamat in urbe.
Cætera de genere hoc (adeo sunt multa) loquacem
Delassare valent Fabium: ne te morer, audi
Quo rem deducam. Si quis deus, En ego, dicat, 15
Jam faciam quod vultis: eris tu, qui modo miles,
Mercator: tu, consultus modo rusticus: hinc vos,
Vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus. Eja,
Quid statis? Nolint. Atqui licet esse beatis.
Quid causæ est, merito quin illis Jupiter ambas 20
Iratus buccas inflet? neque se fore posthac
Tam facilem dicat, votis ut præbeat aurem?
Præterea, ne sic, ut qui jocularia, ridens
Percurram; quanquam ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi 25

Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima—
Sed tamen amoto quæramus seria ludo.
Ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,
Perfidus hic caupo, miles, nautæque per omne
Audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem 30
Sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
Aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut
Parvula (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris
Ore trahit, quodcunque potest, atque addit acervo,
Quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri: 35
Quæ, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
Non usquam prorepit, et illis utitur ante
Quæsitis sapiens; cum te neque fervidus æstus
Dimoveat lucro, neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum;
Nil obstet tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter. 40
Quid juvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
Furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?
¶ Quod, si comminuas, vilem redigatur ad assem.
¶ At ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?
Millia frumenti tua triverit area centum, 45
Non tuus hoc capiet venter plus quam meus: ut si
Reticulum panis venales inter onusto
Forte vehas humero, nihilo plus accipias quam
Qui nil portârit. Vel dic, quid referat intra
Naturæ fines viventi, jugera centum, an 50
Mille aret? ¶ At suave est ex magno tollere acervo.
¶ Dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquas,
Cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?
Ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna,
Vel cyatho; et dicas, Magno de flumine mallem, 55
Quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere. Eo fit.
Plenior ut siquos delectet copia justo,
Cum ripa simul avulsos ferat Aufidus acer:
At qui tantuli eget quanto est opus, is neque limo
Turbatam haurit aquam, neque vitam amittit in undis. 60
At bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso,

Nil satis est, inquit; quia tanti, quantum habeas, sis.
Quid facias illi? jubeas miserum esse, libenter
Quatenus id facit: ut quidam memoratur Athenis
Sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces 65
Sic solitus; Populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo
Ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.
Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
Flumina: quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur: congestis undique saccis 70
Indormis inhians, et tanquam parcere sacris
Cogeris, aut pictis tanquam gaudere tabellis.
Nescis quo valeat nummus, quem præbeat usum?
Panis ematur, olus, vini sextarius: adde,
Queis humana sibi doleat natura negatis. 75
An vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
Formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,
Ne te compilent fugientes: hoc juvat? horum
Semper ego optârim pauperrimus esse bonorum.
At si condoluit tentatum frigore corpus, 80
Aut alius casus lecto te affixit; habes qui
Assideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget ut te
Suscitet ac reddat natis carisque propinquis?
Non uxor salvum te vult, non filius: omnes
Vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellæ. 85
Miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas,
Si nemo præstet quem non merearis amorem?
An si cognatos, nullo natura labore
Quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos;
Infelix operam perdas, ut siquis asellum 90
In campo doceat parentem currere frænis?
Denique sit finis quærendi; quoque habeas plus,
Pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
Incipias, parto quod avebas, ne facias quod
Ummidius quidam (non longa est fabula) dives 95
Ut metiretur nummos, ita sordidus ut se
Non unquam servo melius vestiret, ad usque

Supremum tempus, ne se penuria victus
Opprimeret, metuebat. At hunc liberta securi
Divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum. 100
¶ Quid mî igitur suades? ut vivam Mænius, aut sic
Ut Nomentanus? ¶ Pergis pugnantia secum
Frontibus adversis componere? non ego, avarum
Cum veto te fieri, vappam jubeo ac nebulonem.
Est inter Tanaim quiddam socerumque Viselli. 105
Est modus in rebus; sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.
Illuc, unde abii, redeo; nemon' ut avarus
Se probet, ac potius laudet diversa sequentes?
Quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber, 110
Tabescat? neque se majori pauperiorum
Turbæ comparet? hunc atque hunc superare laboret?
Sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat:
Ut cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum 115
Præteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.
Inde fit ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum
Dicat, et exacto contentus tempore vitæ
Cedat, uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.
Jam satis est: ne me Crispini scrinia lippi 120
Compilâsse putes, verbum non amplius addam.

SATIRA II.

Ambubajarum collegia, pharmacopolæ,
Mendici, mimæ, balatrones, hoc genus omne
Mœstum ac solicitum est cantoris morte Tigellî;
Quippe benignus erat: contra hic ne prodigus esse
Dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico, 5
Frigus quo duramque famem depellere possit.
Hunc si perconteris, avi cur atque parentis

Præclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
Omnia conductis coëmens obsonia nummis;
Sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi, 10
Respondet: Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.
Fufidius vappæ famam timet ac nebulonis,
Dives agris, dives positis in fœnore nummis.
Quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat; atque
Quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urguet; 15
Nomina sectatur, modo sumta veste virili,
Sub patribus duris, tironum. Maxime, quis non,
Jupiter, exclamat, simulatque audivit? ¶ At in se
Pro quæstu sumtum facit hic. ¶ Vix credere possis
Quam sibi non sit amicus: ita ut pater ille, Terentî 20
Fabula quem miserum nato vixisse fugato
Inducit, non se pejus cruciaverit atque hic.
Si quis nunc quærat, Quo res hæc pertinet? Illuc;
Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.
Malthinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui 25
Inguen ad obscœnum subductis usque facetus:
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum:
Nil medium est. Sunt qui nolint tetigisse, nisi illas
Quarum subsuta talos tegat instita veste:
Contra alius nullam, nisi olente in fornice stantem. 30
Quidam notus homo cum exiret fornice, Macte
Virtute esto, inquit sententia dia Catonis:
Nam simulac venas inflavit tetra libido,
Huc juvenes æquum est descendere, non alienas
Permolere uxores. Nolim laudarier, inquit, 35
Sic me, mirator cunni Cupiennius albi.
Audire est operæ pretium, procedere recte
Qui mœchis non vultis, ut omni parte laborent;
Utque illis multo corrupta dolore voluptas,
Atque hæc rara, cadat dura inter sæpe pericla. 40
Hic se præcipitem tecto dedit: ille flagellis
Ad mortem cæsus: fugiens hic decidit acrem
Prædonum in turbam: dedit hic pro corpore nummos;

Hunc perminxerunt calones: quin etiam illud
Accidit, ut quidam testes caudamque salacem 45
Demeteret ferrum. Jure omnes: Galba negabat.
Tutior at quanto merx est in classe secunda!
Libertinarum dico, Sallustius in quas
Non minus insanit, quam qui mœchatur: at hic si,
Qua res, qua ratio suaderet, quaque modeste 50
Munifico esse licet, vellet bonus atque benignus
Esse; daret quantum satis esset, nec sibi damno
Dedecorique foret: verum hoc se amplectitur uno:
Hoc amat, hoc laudat; Matronam nullam ego tango:
Ut quondam Marsæus, amator Originis, ille 55
Qui patrium mimæ donat fundumque laremque,
Nil fuerit mi, inquit, cum uxoribus unquam alienis:
Verum est cum mimis, est cum meretricibus; unde
Fama malum gravius, quam res trahit: an tibi abunde
Personam satis est, non illud quicquid ubique 60
Officit, evitare? bonam deperdere famam,
Rem patris oblimare, malum est ubicunque. Quid inter-
Est in matrona, ancilla, peccesve togata?
Villius in Fausta Sullæ gener, hoc miser uno
Nomine deceptus, pœnas dedit usque superque 65
Quam satis est; pugnis cæsus, ferroque petitus,
Exclusus fore, cum Longarenus foret intus.
Huic si mutonis verbis mala tanta videntis
Diceret hæc animus; Quid vis tibi? nunquid ego a te
Magno prognatum deposco consule cunnum, 70
Velatumque stola, mea cum conferbuit ira?
Quid responderet? Magno patre nata puella est.
At quanto meliora monet, pugnantiaque istis,
Dives opis natura suæ, si tu modo recte
Dispensare velis, ac non fugienda petendis 75
Immiscere! Tuo vitio, rerumne, labores,
Nil referre putas? Quare ne pœniteat te:
Desine matronas sectarier, unde laboris
Plus haurire mali est, quam ex re decerpere fructus.

Nec magis huic inter niveos viridesque lapillos 80
Sit licet, hoc, Cerinthe, tuo tenerum est femur, aut crus
Rectius; atque etiam melius persæpe togatæ.
Adde huc, quod mercem sine fucis gestat; aperte
Quod venale habet, ostendit; nec, si quid honesti est,
Jactat habetque palam, quærit quo turpia celet. 85
Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur, opertos
Inspiciunt; ne si facies (ut sæpe) decora
Molli fulta pede est, emtorem inducat hiantem;
Quod pulchræ clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.
Hoc illi recte? ne corporis optima Lynceis 90
Contemplere oculis, Hypsæa cæcior illa
Quæ mala sunt spectes. ¶ O crus! O brachia! ¶ verum
Depygis, nasuta, brevi latere ac pede longo est.
Matronæ, præter faciem, nil cernere possis,
Cætera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis. 95
Si interdicta petes, vallo circumdata, nam te
Hoc facit insanum, multæ tibi tum officient res:
Custodes, lectica, ciniflones, parasitæ,
Ad talos stola demissa, et circumdata palla;
Plurima, quæ invideant pure apparere tibi rem. 100
Altera, nil obstat: Cois tibi pene videre est
Ut nudam; ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi:
Metiri possis oculo latus. An tibi mavis
Insidias fieri, pretiumque avellier, ante
Quam mercem ostendi? ¶ *Leporem venator ut alta* 105
In nive sectetur, positum sic tangere nolit:
Cantat, et apponit, *Meus est amor huic similis: nam*
Transvolat in medio posita, et fugientia captat.
¶ Hiscine versiculis speras tibi posse dolores,
Atque æstus curasque graves e pectore pelli? 110
Nonne cupidinibus statuat natura modum quem,
Quid latura sibi, quid sit dolitura negatum,
Quærere plus prodest, et inane abscindere soldo?
Num, tibi cum fauces urit sitis, aurea quæris
Pocula? num esuriens fastidis omnia præter 115

Pavonem rhombumque? tument tibi cum inguina, num, si
Ancilla aut verna est præsto puer, impetus in quem
Continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi?
Non ego; namque parabilem amo Venerem, facilemque.
¶ Illam, Post paulo; Sed pluris: Si exierit vir; 120
Gallis hanc, Philodemus ait; sibi, quæ neque magno
Stet pretio, neque cunctetur, cum est jussa, venire:
Candida rectaque sit; munda hactenus, ut neque longa
Nec magis alba velit, quam det natura, videri.
Hæc ubi supposuit dextrum corpus mihi lævo, 125
Ilia et Ægeria est: do nomen quodlibet illi.
Nec vereor, ne dum futuo, vir rure recurrat,
Janua frangatur, latret canis, undique magno
Pulsa domus strepitu resonet, vepallida lecto
Desiliat mulier, miseram se conscia clamet; 130
Cruribus hæc metuat, doti deprensa, egomet mî.
Discincta tunica fugiendum est, ac pede nudo,
Ne nummi pereant, aut pyga, aut denique fama.
Deprendi miserum est: Fabio vel judice vincam.

SATIRA III.

OMNIBUS hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
Ut nunquam inducant animum cantare rogati;
Injussi nunquam desistant. Sardus habebat
Ille Tigellius hoc. Cæsar, qui cogere posset,
Si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam, non 5
Quicquam proficeret: si collibuisset, ab ovo
Usque ad mala citaret: Io Bacche! modo summa
Voce, modo hac, resonat quæ chordis quattuor ima.
Nil æquale homini fuit illi: sæpe velut qui
Currebat fugiens hostem; persæpe velut qui 10
Junonis sacra ferret; habebat sæpe ducentos,
Sæpe decem servos: modo reges atque tetrarchas,

Omnia magna, loquens: modo, Sit mihi mensa tripes, et
Concha salis puri, et toga quæ defendere frigus,
Quamvis crassa, queat. Decies centena dedisses 15
Huic parco paucis contento, quinque diebus
Nil erat in loculis: noctes vigilabat ad ipsum
Mane, diem totum stertebat; nil fuit unquam
Sic impar sibi. Nunc aliquis dicat mihi, Quid tu?
Nullane habes vitia? Imo alia, et fortasse minora. 20
Mænius absentem Novium cum carperet; Heus tu,
Quidam ait, ignoras te? an ut ignotum dare nobis
Verba putas? Egomet mî ignosco, Mænius inquit.
Stultus et improbus hic amor est, dignusque notari.
Cum tua pervideas oculis male lippus inunctis, 25
Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum,
Quam aut aquila, aut serpens Epidaurius! At tibi contra
Evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus et illi.
Iracundior est paulo? minus aptus acutis
Naribus horum hominum? rideri possit, eo quod 30
Rusticius tonso toga defluit, et male laxus
In pede calceus hæret? At est bonus, ut melior vir
Non alius quisquam: at tibi amicus: at ingenium ingens
Inculto latet hoc sub corpore. Denique teipsum
Concute, numqua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim 35
Natura, aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.
Illuc prævertamur; amatorem quod amicæ
Turpia decipiunt cæcum vitia, aut etiam ipsa hæc
Delectant; veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnæ: 40
Vellem in amicitia sic erraremus; et isti
Errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.
At, patet ut gnati, sic nos debemus amici,
Siquod sit vitium, non fastidire: strabonem
Appellat Pætum pater; et Pullum, male parvus 45
Si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim
Sisyphus: hunc, Varum, distortis cruribus; illum
Balbutit Scaurum, parvis fultum male talis.

Parcius hic vivit ? frugi dicatur : ineptus
Et jactantior hic paulo est? concinnus amicis 50
Postulat ut videatur : at est truculentior, atque
Plus æquo liber ? simplex fortisque habeatur.
Caldior est ? acres inter numeretur : opinor,
Hæc res et jungit, junctos et servat amicos.
At nos virtutes ipsas invertimus, atque 55
Sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. Probus quis
Nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo ? illi
Tardo ac cognomen pingui damus : hic fugit omnes
Insidias, nullique malo latus obdit apertum ?—
Cum genus hoc inter vitæ versetur, ubi acris 60
Invidia, atque vigent ubi crimina—pro bene sano
Ac non incauto, fictum astutumque vocamus.
Simplicior quis et est, qualem me sæpe libenter
Obtulerim tibi, Mæcenas, ut forte legentem
Aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone molestus ? 65
Communi sensu plane caret, inquimus. Eheu
Quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam !
Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur : optimus ille est,
Qui minimis urguetur. Amicus dulcis, ut æquum est,
Cum mea compenset vitiis bona, pluribus hisce 70
(Si modo plura mihi bona sunt) inclinet, amari
Si volet : hac lege, in trutina ponetur eadem.
Qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum
Postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius : æquum est,
Peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus. 75
Denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium iræ,
Cætera item nequeunt stultis hærentia : cur non
Ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur ? ac res
Ut quæque est, ita suppliciis delicta coërcet ?
Si quis eum servum, patinam qui tollere jussus 80
Semesos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit jus,
In cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter
Sanos dicatur. Quanto hoc furiosius atque
Majus peccatum est ? Paulum deliquit amicus ;

Quod nisi concedas, habeare insuavis, acerbus, 85
Odisti et fugis, ut Rusonem debitor æris:
Qui, nisi cum tristes misero venere Calendæ,
Mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras
Porrecto jugulo historias, captivus ut, audit.
Comminxit lectum potus, mensave catillum 90
Evandri manibus tritum dejecit; ob hanc rem,
Aut positum ante mea quia pullum in parte catini
Sustulit esuriens, minus hoc jucundus amicus
Sit mihi? Quid faciam si furtum fecerit? aut si
Prodiderit commissa fide? sponsumve negarit? 95
Queis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant,
Cum ventum ad verum est: sensus moresque repugnant,
Atque ipsa utilitas, justi prope mater et æqui.
Cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter, 100
Unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus;
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invenere: dehinc absistere bello,
Oppida cœperunt munire, et ponere leges, 105
Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.
Nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli
Causa: sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
Quos Venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum
Viribus editior cædebat; ut in grege taurus. 110
Jura inventa metu injusti fateare necesse est,
Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.
Nec natura potest justo secernere iniquum,
Dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis.
Nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque 115
Qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti,
Et qui nocturnus sacra divum legerit. Adsit
Regula, peccatis quæ pœnas irroget æquas:
Ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
Nam, ut ferula cædas meritum majora subire 120

Verbera, non vereor: cum dicas esse pares res
Furta latrociniis, et magnis parva mineris
Falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
Permittant homines. Si dives qui sapiens est,
Et sutor bonus, et solus formosus, et est rex; 125
Cur optas quod habes? ¶ Non nôsti quid pater, inquit,
Chrysippus dicat: Sapiens crepidas sibi nunquam
Nec soleas fecit; sutor tamen est sapiens. ¶ Quî?
¶ Ut, quamvis tacet Hermogenes, cantor tamen atque
Optimus est modulator; ut Alfenus vafer, omni 130
Abjecto instrumento artis, clausaque taberna,
Sutor erat; sapiens operis sic optimus omnis
Est opifex solus; sic rex. ¶ Vellunt tibi barbam
Lascivi pueri; quos tu nisi fuste coërces,
Urgueris turba circum te stante, miserque 135
Rumperis, et latras, magnorum maxime regum.
Ne longum faciam, dum tu quadrante lavatum
Rex ibis, neque te quisquam stipator, ineptum
Præter Crispinum, sectabitur: et mihi dulces
Ignoscent, siquid peccâro stultus, amici; 140
Inque vicem illorum patiar delicta libenter,
Privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus.

SATIRA IV.

Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque, Poëtæ,
Atque alii quorum Comœdia prisca virorum est,
Siquis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur,
Quod mœchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui
Famosus, multa cum libertate notabant. 5
Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus,
Mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque; facetus,
Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus:
Nam fuit hoc vitiosus, in hora sæpe ducentos,

Ut magnum, versus dictabat, stans pede in uno. 10
Cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles:
Garrulus, atque piger scribendi ferre laborem;
Scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror.—Ecce,
Crispinus minimo me provocat. ¶ Accipe, si vis,
Accipe jam tabulas; detur nobis locus, hora, 15
Custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit.
Dii bene fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli
Finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis:
At tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras,
Usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis, 20
Ut mavis, imitare. Beatus Fannius, ultro
Delatis capsis et imagine; cum mea nemo
Scripta legat, (vulgo recitare timentis,) ob hanc rem,
Quod sunt quos genus hoc minime juvat; utpote plures
Culpari dignos. Quemvis media elige turba; 25
Aut ob avaritiam, aut misera ambitione laborat.
Hic nuptarum insanus amoribus, hic puerorum;
Hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius ære;
Hic mutat merces surgente a sole, ad eum quo
Vespertina tepet regio; quin per mala præceps 30
Fertur, uti pulvis collectus turbine, nequid
Summa deperdat metuens, aut ampliet ut rem.
Omnes hi metuunt versus, odere Poëtas.
¶ Fœnum habet in cornu, longe fuge: dummodo risum
Excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico: 35
Et, quodcunque semel chartis illeverit, omnes
Gestiet a furno redeuntes scire lacuque,
Et pueros et anus. ¶ Agedum pauca accipe contra:
Primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse Poëtas,
Excerpam numero: neque enim concludere versum 40
Dixeris esse satis; neque, siquis scribat, uti nos,
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse Poëtam.
Ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior, atque os
Magna sonaturum, des nominis hujus honorem.
Idcirco quidam, Comœdia, necne Poëma 45

Esset, quæsivere; quod acer spiritus ac vis
Nec verbis nec rebus inest; nisi quod pede certo
Differt sermoni, sermo merus. ¶ At pater ardens
Sævit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica
Filius, uxorem grandi cum dote recuset, 50
Ebrius et (magnum quod dedecus) ambulet ante
Noctem cum facibus. ¶ Numquid Pomponius istis
Audiret leviora, pater si viveret?—Ergo
Non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis;
Quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem 55
Quo personatus pacto pater. His, ego quæ nunc,
Olim quæ scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
Tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum est,
Posterius facias, præponens ultima primis;
Non, ut si solvas, "Postquam discordia tetra 60
"Belli ferratos postes, portasque refregit:"
Invenias etiam disjecti membra Poëtæ.
Hactenus hæc: alias, justum sit necne Poëma,
Nunc illud quæram; meritone tibi sit
Suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer 65
Ambulat, et Caprius, rauci male, cumque libellis;
Magnus uterque timor latronibus; at bene siquis
Et vivat puris manibus, contemnat utrumque.
Ut sis tu similis Cœli Birrique, latronum,
Non ego sim Caprî, neque Sulcî; (cur metuas me?) 70
Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,
Queis manus insudet vulgi, Hermogenisque Tigellì,
Nec recitem quidquam, nisi amicis, idque coactus,
Non ubivis, coramve quibuslibet. ¶ In medio qui
Scripta foro recitent, sunt multi. ¶ Quique lavantes: 75
Suave locus voci resonat conclusus. Inanes
Hoc juvat, haud illud quærentes, num sine sensu,
Tempore num faciant alieno. ¶ Lædere gaudes,
Inquis; et hoc studio pravus facis. ¶ Unde petitum
Hoc in me jacis? est auctor quis denique eorum, 80
Vixi cum quibus? Absentem qui rodit amicum

Qui non defendit, alio culpante; solutos
Qui captat risus hominum, famamque dicacis;
Fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
Qui nequit; hic niger est, hunc tu Romane caveto. 85
Sæpe tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos;
E quibus unus amet quavis aspergere cunctos,
Præter eum qui præbet aquam: post, hunc quoque potus,
Condita cum verax aperit præcordia Liber:
Hic tibi comis, et urbanus, liberque videtur, 90
Infesto nigris. Ego, si risi quod ineptus
Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum,
Lividus et mordax videor tibi? Mentio si qua
De Capitolini furtis injecta Petillî
Te coram fuerit; defendas, ut tuus est mos: 95
¶ Me Capitolinus convictore usus amicoque
A puero est, causaque mea permulta rogatus
Fecit; et, incolumis lætor quod vivit in urbe:
Sed tamen admiror, quo pacto judicium illud
Fugerit. ¶ Hic nigræ succus loliginis; hæc est 100
Ærugo mera; quod vitium procul afore chartis,
Atque animo prius, ut siquid promittere de me
Possum aliud, vere promitto. Liberius si
Dixero quid, si forte jocosius, hoc mihi juris
Cum venia dabis: insuevit pater optimus hoc me, 105
Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando.
Cum me hortaretur, parce, frugaliter, atque
Viverem uti contentus eo, quod mi ipse parâsset:
Nonne vides, Albî ut male vivat filius? utque
Barrus inops? magnum documentum, ne patriam rem 110
Perdere quis velit. A turpi meretricis amore
Cum deterreret, Sectani dissimilis sis.
Ne sequerer mœchas, concessa cum Venere uti
Possem, Deprensi non bella est fama Trebonî,
Aiebat. Sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu 115
Sit melius, causas reddet tibi: mi satis est, si
Traditum ab antiquis morem servare, tuamque,

Dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
Incolumen possum: simulac duraverit ætas
Membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice. Sic me 120
Formabat puerum dictis: et sive jubebat
Ut facerem quid, Habes auctorem quo facias hoc;
Unum ex judicibus selectis objiciebat:
Sivè vetabat, An hoc inhonestum et inutile factum
Necne sit, addubites, flagret rumore malo cum 125
Hic atque ille? Avidos vicinum funus ut ægros
Exanimat, mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit:
Sic teneros animos aliena opprobria sæpe
Absterrent vitiis. Ex hoc ego sanus ab illis,
Perniciem quæcunque ferunt; mediocribus, et queis 130
Ignoscas, vitiis teneor; fortassis et isthinc
Largiter abstulerit longa ætas, liber amicus,
Consilium proprium: neque enim, cum lectulus aut me
Porticus excepit, desum mihi: Rectius hoc est;
Hoc faciens, vivam melius; sic dulcis amicis 135
Occurram; hoc quidam non belle; num quid ego illi
Imprudens olim faciam simile? Hæc ego mecum
Compressis agito labris: ubi quid datur otî,
Illudo chartis: hoc est mediocribus illis
Ex vitiis unum; cui si concedere nolis, 140
Multa Poëtarum veniat manus, auxilio quæ
Sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus) ac veluti te
Judæi cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

SATIRA V.

Egressum magna me excepit Aricia Roma
Hospitio modico; Rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Græcorum longe doctissimus. Inde Forum Appî,
Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.
Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos 5

Præcinctis unum: minus est gravis Appia tardis.
Hic ego, propter aquam, quod erat teterrima, ventri
Indico bellum, cœnantes haud animo æquo
Exspectans comites. Jam nox inducere terris
Umbras, et cœlo diffundere signa parabat: 10
Tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautæ
Ingerere. ¶ Huc appelle. ¶ Trecentos inseris, ohe!
Jam satis est. ¶ Dum æs exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
Tota abit hora: mali culices, ranæque palustres
Avertunt somnos: absentem ut cantat amicam 15
Multa prolutus vappa nauta, atque viator
Certatim; tandem fessus dormire viator
Incipit; ac missæ pastum retinacula mulæ
Nauta piger saxo religat, stertitque supinus.
Jamque dies aderat, cum nil procedere lintrem 20
Sentimus: donec cerebrosus prosilit unus,
Ac mulæ nautæque caput lumbosque saligno
Fuste dolat: quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
Ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.
Millia tum pransi tria repimus, atque subimus 25
Impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
Huc venturus erat Mæcenas optimus, atque
Cocceius: missi magnis de rebus uterque
Legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.
Hîc oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus 30
Illinere. Interea Mæcenas advenit, atque
Cocceius, Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
Factus homo, Antonî, non ut magis alter, amicus.
Fundos Aufidio Lusco Prætore libenter
Linquimus, insani ridentes præmia scribæ, 35
Prætextam, et latum clavum, prunæque vatillum.
In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,
Murena præbente domum, Capitone culinam.
Postera lux oritur multo gratissima: namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ Virgiliusque 40
Occurrunt; animæ, quales neque candidiores

Terra tulit, neque queis me sit devinctior alter.
O qui complexus! et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.
Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, tectum 45
Præbuit; et parochi quæ debent ligna, salemque.
Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.
Lusum it Mæcenas; dormitum ego Virgiliusque:
Namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.
Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa, 50
Quæ super est Caudî cauponas. Nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurræ pugnam Messîque Cicirri,
Musa, velim memores; et quo patre natus uterque
Contulerit lites. Messî clarum genus Osci;
Sarmenti domina exstat. Ab his majoribus orti 55
Ad pugnam venere: prior Sarmentus, Equi te
Esse feri similem dico. Ridemus: et ipse
Messius, Accipio; caput et movet: O, tua cornu
Ni foret exsecto frons (inquit) quid faceres, cum
Sic mutilus miniteris? At illi fœda cicatrix 60
Setosam lævi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta jocatus,
Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat;
Nil illi larva aut Tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
Multa Cicirrus ad hæc, donâsset jamne catenam 65
Ex voto Laribus, quærebat: scriba quod esset,
Nilo deterius dominæ jus esse. Rogabat
Denique, cur unquam fugisset; cui satis una
Farris libra foret, gracili sic, tamque pusillo.
Prorsus jucunde cœnam produximus illam. 70
Tendimus hinc recta Beneventum; ubi sedulus hospes
Pene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igne:
Nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
Vulcano, summum properabat lambere tectum.
Convivas avidos cœnam servosque timentes 75
Tum rapere, atque omnes restinguere velle videres.
Incipit ex illo montes Appulia notos

Ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus; et quos
Nunquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
Villa recepisset, lacrymoso non sine fumo, 80
Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.
Hic ego mendacem stultissimus usque puellam
Ad mediam noctem exspecto: somnus tamen aufert
Intentum Veneri; tum immundo somnia visu
Nocturnam vestem maculant, ventremque supinum. 85
Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et millia rhedis,
Mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est,
Signis perfacile est: venit vilissima rerum
Hic aqua; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
Callidus ut soleat humeris portare viator, 90
Nam Canusî lapidosus; aquæ non ditior urna:
Qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
Flentibus hic Varius discedit mœstus amicis.
Inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
Carpentes iter, et factum corruptius imbri. 95
Postera tempestas melior; via pejor adusque
Barî mœnia piscosi: dehinc Gnatia lymphis
Iratis extructa dedit risusque jocosque;
Dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro
Persuadere cupit: credat Judæus Apella; 100
Non ego: namque Deos didici securum agere ævum;
Nec siquid miri faciat natura, Deos id
Tristes ex alto cœli demittere tecto.
Brundusium longæ finis chartæque viæque.

SATIRA VI.

Non, quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quicquid Hetruscos
Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te;
Nec, quod avus tibi maternus fuit, atque paternus,
Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent;

Ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco 5
Ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum:
Cum referre negas, quali sit quisque parente
Natus, dum ingenuus. Persuades hoc tibi vere;
Ante potestatem Tullî, atque ignobile regnum,
Multos sæpe viros nullis majoribus ortos, 10
Et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos:
Contra, Lævinum, Valerî genus, unde Superbus
Tarquinius regno pulsus fuit, unius assis
Non unquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante
Judice quo nôsti populo, qui stultus honores 15
Sæpe dat indignis, et famæ servit ineptus;
Qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus. Quid oportet
Nos facere, a vulgo longe longeque remotos?
Namque esto, populus Lævino mallet honorem
Quam Decio mandare novo; censorque moveret 20
Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus:
Vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiêssem.
¶ Sed fulgente trahit constrictos gloria curru
Non minus ignotos generosis. ¶ Quo tibi, Tilli,
Sumere depositum clavum, fierique tribuno? 25
Invidia accrevit, privato quæ minor esset:
Nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus
Pellibus, et latum demisit pectore clavum,
Audit continuo, Quis homo hic? et, Quo patre natus?
Ut si qui ægrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi 30
Et cupiat formosus; eat quacunque, puellis
Injiciat curam quærendi singula, quali
Sit facie, sura quali, pede, dente, capillo:
Sic qui promittit, cives, urbem sibi curæ,
Imperium fore, et Italiam et delubra deorum; 35
Quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,
Omnes mortales curare et quærere cogit.
¶ Tune Syri, Damæ, aut Dionysî filius, audes
Dejicere e saxo cives, aut tradere Cadmo?
¶ At Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno; 40

Namque est ille, pater quod erat meus. ¶ Hoc tibi Paulus
Et Messala videris? At hic, si plostra ducenta
Concurrantque foro tria funera, magna sonabit
Cornua quod vincatque tubas: saltem tenet hoc nos.
¶ Nunc ad me redeo, libertino patre natum: 45
Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum:
Nunc quia sum tibi, Mæcenas, convictor; at olim
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.
Dissimile hoc illi est: quia non ut forsit honorem
Jure mihi invideat quivis, ita te quoque amicum; 50
Præsertim cautum dignos assumere, prava
Ambitione procul. Felicem dicere non hoc
Me possum, casu quod te sortitus amicum:
Nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim
Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem. 55
Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus
(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari)
Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
Sed quod eram, narro: respondes, ut tuus est mos, 60
Pauca: abeo; et revocas nono post mense, jubesque
Esse in amicorum numero. Magnum hoc ego duco,
Quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,
Non patre præclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.
Atqui si vitiis mediocribus, ac mea paucis 65
Mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, (velut si
Egregio inspersos reprendas corpore nævos,)
Si neque avaritiam, neque sordes, aut mala lustra
Objiciet vere quisquam mihi; purus et insons
(Ut me collaudem) si vivo et carus amicis: 70
Causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
Noluit in Flavî ludum me mittere, magni
Quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
Ibant octonis referentes idibus æra: 75
Sed puerum est ausus Romam portare, docendum

Artes quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
Semet prognatos: vestem servosque sequentes,
In magno ut populo, si quis vidisset, avita
Ex re præberi sumtus mihi crederet illos. 80
Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum
(Qui primus virtutis honos) servavit ab omni
Non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi:
Nec timuit, sibi ne vitio quis verteret, olim 85
Si præco parvas, aut (ut fuit ipse) coactor
Mercedes sequerer: neque ego essem questus. At hoc nunc
Laus illi debetur, et a me gratia major.
Nil me pœniteat sanum patris hujus: eoque
Non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars, 90
Quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes;—
Sic me defendam. Longe mea discrepat istis
Et vox et ratio: nam si natura juberet
A certis annis ævum remeare peractum,
Atque alios legere ad fastum quoscunque parentes;— 95
Optaret sibi quisque; meis contentus, honestos
Fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
Judicio vulgi; sanus fortasse tuo, quod
Nollem onus (haud unquam solitus) portare molestum.
Nam mihi continuo major quærenda foret res, 100
Atque salutandi plures; ducendus et unus
Et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve
Exirem; plures calones atque caballi
Pascendi; ducenda petorrita. Nunc mihi curto
Ire licet mulo, vel, si libet, usque Tarentum, 105
Mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret, atque eques armos.
Objiciet nemo sordes mihi, quas tibi, Tilli,
Cum Tiburte via prætorem quinque sequuntur
Te pueri, lasanum portantes œnophorumque.
Hoc ego commodius quam tu, præclare senator, 110
Millibus atque aliis, vivo; quacunque libido est,
Incedo solus; percontor quanti olus, ac far;

Fallacem Circum, vespertinumque pererro
Sæpe forum; assisto divinis; inde domum me
Ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum: 115
Cœna ministratur pueris tribus; et lapis albus
Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; astat echino
Vilis cum patera guttus, Campana supellex.
Deinde eo dormitum, non solicitus, mihi quod cras
Surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se 120
Vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
Ad quartam jaceo: post hanc vagor, aut ego lecto,
Aut scripto quod me tacitum juvet: ungor olivo,
Non quo fraudatis immundus Nacca lucernis.
Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum 125
Admonuit, fugio Campum lusumque trigonem.
Pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani
Ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. Hæc est
Vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique:
His me consolor victurum suavius, ac si 130
Quæstor avus, pater atque meus, patruusque fuisset.

SATIRA VII.

Proscripti Regis Rupilî pus atque venenum
Ibrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor
Omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.
Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat
Clazomenis, etiam lites cum Rege molestas; 5
Durus homo, atque odio qui posset vincere Regem;
Confidens, tumidus; adeo sermonis amari,
Sisennas, Barros ut equis præcurreret albis.
Ad Regem redeo: postquam nihil inter utrumque
Convenit (hoc etenim sunt omnes jure molesti 10
Quo fortes, quibus adversum bellum incidit. Inter
Hectora Priamiden, animosum atque inter Achillem

Ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima divideret mors
Non aliam ob causam, nisi quod virtus in utroque
Summa fuit. Duo si discordia vexet inertes; 15
Aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomedi
Cum Lycio Glauco; discedet pigrior, ultro
Muneribus missis)—Bruto Prætore tenente
Ditem Asiam, Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non
Compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius; in jus 20
Acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.
Persius exponit causam, ridetur ab omni
Conventu; laudat Brutum, laudatque cohortem;
Solem Asiæ Brutum appellat; stellasque salubres
Appellat comites, excepto Rege; canem illum, 25
Invisum agricolis sidus, venisse: ruebat
Flumen ut hibernum, fertur quo rara securis.
Tum Prænestinus salso multoque fluenti
Expressa arbusto regerit convicia, durus
Vindemiator, et invictus, cui sæpe viator 30
Cessisset, magna compellans voce cuculum.
At Græcus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,
Persius exclamat, Per magnos, Brute, Deos te
Oro, qui reges consuêris tollere, cur non
Hunc Regem jugulas? operum hoc (mihi crede) tuorum
est. 35

SATIRA VIII.

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
Cum faber incertus scamnum faceret ne Priapum,
Maluit esse deum: deus inde ego, furum aviumque
Maxima formido; nam fures dextra coërcet,
Obscœnoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus: 5
Ast importunas volucres in vertice arundo
Terret fixa, vetatque novis considere in hortis.

Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
Conservus vili portanda locabat in arca.
Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulcrum, 10
Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepoti.
Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
Hic dabat; hæredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
Aggere in aprico spatiari, qua modo tristes 15
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.
Cum mihi non tantum furesque feræque suëtæ
Hunc vexare locum, curæ sunt atque labori,
Quantum, carminibus quæ versant atque venenis
Humanos animos: has nullo perdere possum, 20
Nec prohibere modo, simulac vaga luna decorum
Protulit os, quin ossa legant, herbasque nocentes.
Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
Canidiam, pedibus nudis, passoque capillo,
Cum Sagana majore ululantem: pallor utrasque 25
Fecerat horrendas aspectu. Scalpere terram
Unguibus, et pullam divellere mordicus agnam
Cœperunt; cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde
Manes elicerent, animas responsa daturas.
Lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea; major 30
Lanea, quæ pœnis compesceret inferiorem.
Cerea suppliciter stabat, servilibus ut quæ
Jam peritura modis. Hecaten vocat altera sævam,
Altera Tisiphonen: serpentes atque videres
Infernas errare canes, lunamque rubentem, 35
Ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulcra.
Mentior at si quid, merdis caput inquiner albis
Corvorum; atque in me veniat mictum atque cacatum
Julius et fragilis Pediatia, furque Voranus.
Singula quid memorem? quo pacto alterna loquentes 40
Umbræ cum Sagana resonârint triste et acutum;
Utque lupi barbam variæ cum dente colubræ
Abdiderint furtim terris; et imagine cerea

Largior arserit ignis; et ut non testis inultus
Horruerim voces Furiarum et facta duarum. 45
Nam, displosa sonat quantum vesica, pepedi
Diffissa nate ficus; at illæ currere in urbem:
Canidiæ dentes, altum Saganæ caliendrum
Excidere, atque herbas, atque incantata lacertis
Vincula, cum magno risuque jocoque videres. 50

SATIRA IX.

IBAM forte Via sacra, sicut meus est mos,
Nescio quid meditans nugarum, et totus in illis:
Accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
Arreptaque manu, ¶ Quid agis, dulcissime rerum?
¶ Suaviter, ut nunc est, inquam; et cupio omnia quæ vis. 5
Cum assectaretur, Numquid vis? occupo: at ille,
Nôris nos, inquit; docti sumus. Hic ego, Pluris
Hoc, inquam, mihi eris: misere discedere quærens,
Ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
Dicere nescio quid puero: cum sudor ad imos 10
Manaret talos, O te, Bolane, cerebri
Felicem! aiebam tacitus: cum quidlibet ille
Garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret; ut illi
Nil respondebam, Misere cupis, inquit, abire,
Jamdudum video: sed nil agis; usque tenebo, 15
Persequar. Hinc quo nunc iter est tibi? ¶ Nil opus est te
Circumagi; quendam volo visere, non tibi notum:
Trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Cæsaris hortos.
¶ Nil habeo quod agam, et non sum piger; usque sequar te.
Demitto auriculas, ut iniquæ mentis asellus, 20
Cum gravius dorso subiit onus. Incipit ille;
Si bene me novi, non Viscum pluris amicum,
Non Varium, facies: nam quis me scribere plures
Aut citius possit versus? quis membra movere

Mollius? invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto. 25
Interpellandi locus hic erat; ¶ Est tibi mater?
Cognati, queis te salvo est opus? ¶ Haud mihi quisquam;
Omnes composui. ¶ Felices! nunc ego resto:
Confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella
Quod puero cecinit motâ divina anus urnâ; 30
"Hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis,
"Nec laterum dolor, aut tussis, nec tarda podagra;
"Garrulus hunc quando consumet cunque: loquaces,
"Si sapiat, vitet, simulatque adoleverit ætas."
Ventum erat ad Vestæ, quarta jam parte diei 35
Præterita: et casu tunc respondere vadato
Debebat; quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.
Si me amas, inquit, paulum hic ades. ¶ Inteream si
Aut valeo stare, aut novi civilia jura;
Et propero quo scis. ¶ Dubius sum quid faciam, inquit; 40
Tene relinquam, an rem. ¶ Me, sodes. ¶ Non faciam, ille:
Et præcedere cœpit. Ego (ut contendere durum est
Cum victore) sequor. ¶ Mæcenas quomodo tecum?
Hinc repetit. ¶ Paucorum hominum, et mentis bene sanæ:
Nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. ¶ Haberes 45
Magnum adjutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
Hunc hominem velles si tradere; dispeream ni
Summôsses omnes. ¶ Non isto vivimus illic
Quo tu rere modo: domus hac nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis: nil mî officit unquam, 50
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior; est locus uni-
Cuique suus. ¶ Magnum narras, vix credibile. ¶ Atqui
Sic habet. ¶ Accendis quare cupiam magis illi
Proximus esse. ¶ Velis tantummodo, quæ tua virtus,
Expugnabis; et est qui vinci possit, eoque 55
Difficiles aditus primos habet. ¶ Haud mihi deero:
Muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si
Exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quæram;
Occurram in triviis; deducam. NIL sine magno
Vita labore dedit mortalibus. ¶ Hæc dum agit, ecce, 60

Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus, et illum
Qui pulchre nôsset: consistimus: Unde venis? et,
Quò tendis? rogat, et respondet. Vellere cœpi,
Et prensare manu lentissima brachia, nutans,
Distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet: male salsus 65
Ridens dissimulare: meum jecur urere bilis.
Certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
Aiebas mecum: Memini bene; sed meliori
Tempore dicam: hodie tricesima sabbata: vin' tu
Curtis Judæis oppedere? Nulla mihi, inquam, 70
Relligio est: At mî: sum paulo infirmior, unus
Multorum; ignosces; alias loquar. Hunccine solem
Tam nigrum surrexe mihi! fugit improbus, ac me
Sub cultro linquit. Casu venit obvius illi
Adversarius: et, Quo tu turpissime? magna 75
Exclamat voce, et, Licet antestari? Ego vero
Oppono auriculam: rapit in jus: clamor utrinque:
Undique concursus. Sic me servavit Apollo.

SATIRA X.

Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus
Lucilî: quis tam Lucilî fautor inepte est,
Ut non hoc fateatur? At idem, quod sale multo
Urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.
Nec tamen hoc tribuens, dederim quoque cætera: nam sic 5
Et Laberî mimos, ut pulchra poëmata, mirer.
Ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
Auditoris: et est quædam tamen hic quoque virtus.
Est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia, neu se
Impediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures. 10
Et sermone opus est modo tristi, sæpe jocoso,
Defendente vicem modo rhetoris, atque poëtæ,
Interdum urbani, parcentis viribus, atque

Extenuantis eas consulto. Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res. 15
Illi, scripta quibus Comœdia prisca viris est,
Hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher
Hermogenes unquam legit, neque simius iste
Nil præter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
¶ At magnum fecit, quod verbis Græca Latinis 20
Miscuit. ¶ O seri studiorum! quine putetis
Difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti
Contigit? ¶ At sermo lingua concinnus utraque
Suavior, ut Chio nota si commista Falerni est.
¶ Cum versus facias; teipsum percontor, an et cum 25
Dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petillî.
Scilicet oblitus patriæque patrisque Latini
Cum Pedius causas exsudet Publicola atque
Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita
Verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis? 30
Atque ego cum Græcos facerem, natus mare citra,
Versiculos, vetuit tali me voce Quirinus,
Post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:
In silvam non ligna feras insanius, ac si
Magnas Græcorum malis implere catervas. 35
Turgidus Alpinus jugulat dum Memnona, dumque
Defingit Rheni luteum caput; hæc ego ludo
Quæ nec in æde sonent certantia judice Tarpa;
Nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.
Arguta meretrice potes, Davoque Chremeta 40
Eludente senem, comis garrire libellos,
Unus vivorum, Fundani: Pollio regum
Facta canit, pede ter percusso: forte Epos acer,
Ut nemo, Varius, ducit: molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ. 45
Hoc erat experto frustra Varrone Atacino,
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
Inventore minor: neque ego illi detrahere ausim
Hærentem capiti multa cum laude coronam.

At dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, sæpe ferentem 50
Plura quidem tollenda relinquendis: age, quæso,
Tu nihil in magno doctus reprêndis Homero?
Nil comis Tragici mutat Lucilius Accî?
Non ridet versus Ennî gravitate minores,
Cum de se loquitur, non ut majore reprênsis? 55
Quid vetat et nosmet Lucilî scripta legentes
Quærere, num illius, num rerum dura negârit
Versiculos natura magis factos, et euntes
Mollius, ac si quis pedibus quid claudere senis,
Hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos 60
Ante cibum versus, totidem cœnatus; Hetrusci
Quale fuit Cassî rapido ferventius amni
Ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
Ambustum propriis. Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis et urbanus; fuerit limatior idem, 65
Quam rudis et Græcis intacti carminis auctor,
Quamque Poëtarum seniorum turba; sed ille,
Si foret hoc nostrum fato delatus in ævum,
Detereret sibi multa; recideret omne quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur; et in versu faciendo 70
Sæpe caput scaberet, vivos et roderet ungues.
Sæpe stilum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi sint
Scripturus; neque te ut miretur turba, labores,
Contentus paucis lectoribus: an tua demens
Vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis? 75
Non ego; nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax,
Contemtis aliis, explosa Arbuscula dixit.
Men' moveat cimex Pantilius; aut cruciet quod
Vellicet absentem Demetrius? aut quod ineptus
Fannius Hermogenis lædat conviva Tigellî? 80
Plotius, et Varius, Mæcenas, Virgiliusque,
Valgius, et probet hæc Octavius optimus, atque
Fuscus; et hæc utinam Viscorum laudet uterque:
Ambitione relegata, te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messala, tuo cum fratre; simulque 85

Vos, Bibule et Servi; simul his te, candide Furni:
Complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
Prudens prætereo, quibus hæc, sint qualiacunque,
Arridere velim; doliturus, si placeant spe
Deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli, 90
Discipularum inter jubeo plorare cathedras.
I puer, atque meo citus hæc subscribe libello.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

SERMONUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

SATIRA I.

SUNT quibus in Satira videor nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera quicquid
Composui pars esse putat, similesque meorum
Mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati, 4
Quid faciam, præscribe. ¶ Quiescas. ¶ Ne faciam, inquis,
Omnino versus? ¶ Aio. ¶ Peream male, si non
Optimum erat: verum nequeo dormire. ¶ Ter uncti
Transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto,
Irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.
Aut, si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude 10
Cæsaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum
Præmia laturus. ¶ Cupidum, pater optime, vires
Deficiunt: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
Agmina, nec fracta pereuntes cuspide Gallos,
Aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi. 15
¶ Attamen et justum poteras et scribere fortem,
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius. ¶ Haud mihi deero,
Cum res ipsa feret. Nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
Verba per attentam non ibunt Cæsaris aurem;
Cui male si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus. 20
¶ Quanto rectius hoc, quam tristi lædere versu
Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem!
Cum sibi quisque timet, quanquam est intactus, et odit.
¶ Quid faciam? Saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
Accessit fervor capiti, numerusque lucernis. 25
Castor gaudet equis; ovo prognatus eodem,

Pugnis: quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
Millia: me pedibus delectat claudere verba,
Lucilî ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim 30
Credebat libris; neque, si male cesserat, usquam
Decurrens alio, neque si bene: quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis. Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Appulus, anceps:
Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus, 35
Missus ad hoc pulsis (vetus est ut fama) Sabellis;
Quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis:
Sive quod Appula gens, seu quod Lucania bellum
Incuteret violenta. Sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
Quemquam animantem; et me veluti custodiet ensis 40
Vagina tectus, quem cur destringere coner,
Tutus ab infestis latronibus? O pater et rex
Jupiter, ut pereat positum rubigine telum,
Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! at ille,
Qui me commôrit (Melius non tangere! clamo) 45
Flebit, et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.
Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam;
Canidia, Albutî, quibus est inimica, venenum;
Grande malum Turius, siquid se judice certes.
Ut, quo quisque valet, suspectos terreat, utque 50
Imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum.
Dente lupus, cornu taurus petit; unde, nisi intus
Monstratum? Scævæ vivacem crede nepoti
Matrem: nil faciet sceleris pia dextera (mirum:
Ut neque calce lupus quemquam, neque dente petit bos) 55
Sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.
Ne longum faciam: seu me tranquilla senectus
Exspectat, seu mors atris circumvolat alis;
Dives, inops, Romæ, seu fors ita jusserit exsul,
Quisquis erit vitæ, scribam, color. ¶ O puer, ut sis 60
Vitalis, metuo; et majorum ne quis amicus
Frigore te feriat. ¶ Quid? cum est Lucilius ausus

Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
Detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
Cederet, introrsum turpis; num Lælius, et qui 65
Duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen,
Ingenio offensi? aut læso doluere Metello,
Famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? Atqui
Primores populi arripuit, populumque tributim;
Scilicet uni æquus virtuti, atque ejus amicis. 70
Quin ubi se a vulgo et scena in secreta remôrant
Virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Lælî;
Nugari cum illo, et discincti ludere, donec
Decoqueretur olus, soliti. Quicquid sum ego, quamvis
Infra Lucilî censum ingeniumque, tamen me 75
Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
Invidia, et fragili quærens illidere dentem,
Offendet solido. Nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
Dissentis. ¶ Equidem nihil hic diffingere possum.
Sed tamen ut monitus caveas (ne forte negotî 80
Incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum)
Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est
Judiciumque. ¶ Esto, siquis mala; sed bona siquis
Judice condiderit laudatus Cæsare, siquis
Opprobriis dignum latraverit, integer ipse? 85
¶ Solventur risu tabulæ; tu missus abibis.

SATIRA II.

Quæ virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo
(Nec meus hic sermo est, sed quæ præcepit Ofellus,
Rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minerva)
Discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentes,
Cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus, et cum 5
Adclinis falsis animus meliora recusat;
Verum hic impransi mecum disquirite. ¶ Cur hoc?

¶ Dicam si potero. Male verum examinat omnis
Corruptus judex. Leporem sectatus, equove
Lassus ab indomito, (vel, si Romana fatigat 10
Militia assuetum Græcari, seu pila velox,
Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
Seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aëra disco,)
Cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
Sperne cibum vilem; nisi Hymettia mella Falerno 15
Ne biberis diluta: foris est promus, et atrum
Defendens pisces hiemat mare; cum sale panis
Latrantem stomachum bene leniet. Unde putas, aut
Qui partum? Non in caro nidore voluptas
Summa, sed in teipso est. Tu pulmentaria quære 20
Sudando: pinguem vitiis, albumque, neque ostrea,
Nec scarus, aut poterit peregrina juvare lagois.
Vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone, velis quin
Hoc potius, quam gallina, tergere palatum,
Corruptus vanis rerum; quia veneat auro 25
Rara avis, et picta pandat spectacula cauda:
Tanquam ad rem attineat quicquam. Num vesceris ista,
Quam laudas, pluma? cocto num adest honor idem?
Carne tamen quamvis distat nihil hac magis illa,
Imparibus formis deceptum te patet, esto: 30
Unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus, an alto
Captus hiet, pontesne inter jactatus, an amnis
Ostia sub Tusci?—Laudas, insane, trilibrem
Mullum, in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.
Ducit te species; video: quo pertinet ergo, 35
Proceros odisse lupos? quia scilicet illis
Majorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.
Jejunus rare stomachus vulgaria temnit.
Porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
Vellem, ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus. At vos 40
Præsentes Austri coquite horum obsonia: quamvis
Putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando
Ægrum solicitat stomachum; cum rapula plenus

Atque acidas mavult inulas. Necdum omnis abacta
Pauperies epulis regum: nam vilibus ovis 45
Nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. Haud ita pridem
Gallonî præconis erat acipensere mensa
Infamis: quid? tum rhombos minus æquor alebat?
Tutus erat rhombus, tutoque ciconia nido,
Donec vos auctor docuit prætorius. Ergo 50
Si quis nunc mergos suaves edixerit assos,
Parebit pravi docilis Romana juventus.
Sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofello
Judice: nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud,
Si te alio pravum detorseris. Avidienus, 55
Cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhæret,
Quinquennes oleas est, et silvestria corna;
Ac, nisi mutatum, parcit defundere vinum; et
Cujus odorem olei nequeas perferre (licebit
Ille repotia, natales, aliosve dierum 60
Festos albatus celebret) cornu ipse bilibri
Caulibus instillat, veteris non parcus aceti.
Quali igitur victu sapiens utetur? et horum
Utrum imitabitur? Hac urguet lupus, hac canis, aiunt.
Mundus erit, qui non offendat sordidus, atque 65
In neutram partem cultus miser: hic neque servis,
Albutî senis exemplo, dum munia didit,
Sævus erit; neque, sicut simplex Nævius, unctam
Convivis præbebit aquam: vitium hoc quoque magnum.
Accipe nunc, victus tenuis quæ quantaque secum 70
Afferat. In primis valeas bene; nam variæ res
Ut noceant homini, credas, memor illius escæ,
Quæ simplex olim tibi sederit: at simul assis
Miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis;
Dulcia se in bilem vertent, stomachoque tumultum 75
Lenta feret pituita. Vides ut pallidus omnis
Cœna desurgat dubia? Quin corpus onustum
Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat una,
Atque adfligit humo divinæ particulam auræ.

Alter, ubi dicto citius curata sopori 80
Membra dedit, vegetus præscripta ad munia surgit.
Hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam:
Sive diem festum rediens adduxerit annus;
Seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus; ubi que
Accedent anni, et tractari mollius ætas 85
Imbecilla volet: tibi quidnam accedet ad istam,
Quam puer et validus præsumis, mollitiem: seu
Dura valetudo inciderit, seu tarda senectus?
Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus
Illis nullus erat, sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes 90
Tardius adveniens vitiatum commodius, quam
Integrum edax dominus consumeret. Hos utinam inter
Heroas natum Tellus me prima tulisset!
Das aliquid famæ, quæ carmine gratior aurem
Occupat humanam? grandes rhombi patinæque 95
Grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus; adde
Iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum,
Et frustra mortis cupidum, cum deerit egenti
As, laquei pretium. Jure, inquit, Trausius istis
Jurgatur verbis: Ego vectigalia magna, 100
Divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus. Ergo
Quod superat, non est melius quo insumere possis?
Cur eget indignus quisquam, te divite? quare
Templa ruunt antiqua Deûm? Cur, improbe, caræ
Non aliquid patriæ tanto emetiris acervo? 105
Uni nimirum tibi recte semper erunt res.
O magnus posthac inimicis risus! Uterne
Ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius? hic, qui
Pluribus assuêrit mentem corpusque superbum?
An qui, contentus parvo metuensque futuri, 110
In pace, ut sapiens, aptârit idonea bello?
¶ Quo magis his credas; puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum
Integris opibus novi non latius usum,
Quam nunc accisis. Videas metato in agello
Cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum, 115

¶ Non ego, narrantem, temere edi luce profesta
Quicquam præter olus, fumosæ cum pede pernæ.
Ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes,
Sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
Vicinus, bene erat, non piscibus urbe petitis, 120
Sed pullo atque hœdo: tum pensilis uva secundas
Et nux ornabat mensas, cum duplice ficu:
Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra;
Ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,
Explicuit vino contractæ seria frontis. 125
Sæviat, atque novos moveat fortuna tumultus,
Quantum hinc imminuet? quanto aut ego parcius, aut vos,
O pueri, nituistis, ut huc novus incola venit?
Nam propriæ telluris herum natura neque illum,
Nec me, nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille; 130
Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inscitia juris;
Postremo expellet certe vivacior hæres.
Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
Dictus erat, nulli proprius; sed cedit in usum
Nunc mihi, nunc alii: quocirca vivite fortes, 135
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.

SATIRA III.

Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno
Membranam poscas, scriptorum quæque retexens,
Iratus tibi quod vini somnique benignus
Nil dignum sermone canas. Quid fiet? at ipsis
Saturnalibus huc fugisti; sobrius ergo 5
Dic aliquid dignum promissis: incipe; nil est.
Culpantur frustra calami, immeritusque laborat
Iratis natus paries Diis atque poëtis.
Atqui vultus erat multa et præclara minantis,
Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto. 10

Quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro,
Eupolin Archilocho? comites educere tantos?
Invidiam placare paras Virtute relicta?
Contemnere miser: vitanda est improba Siren
Desidia: aut quicquid vita meliore parâsti, 15
Ponendum æquo animo. ¶ Dii te, Damasippe, deæque
Verum ob consilium donent tonsore: sed unde
Tam bene me nôsti? ¶ Postquam omnis res mea Janum
Ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,
Excussus propriis: olim nam quærere amabam 20
Quo vafer ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus ære,
Quid scalptum infabre, quid fusum durius esset:
Callidus huic signo ponebam millia centum:
Hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus
Cum lucro nôram; unde frequentia Mercuriale 25
Imposuere mihi cognomen compita. ¶ Novi:
Et morbi miror purgatum te illius. ¶ Atqui
Emovit veterem mire novus, ut solet, in cor
Trajecto lateris miseri capitisque dolore:
Ut lethargicus hic, cum fit pugil, et medicum urguet. 30
¶ Dum nequid simile huic, esto ut libet. ¶ O bone, ne te
Frustrere; insanis et tu, stultique prope omnes,
Siquid Stertinius veri crepat; unde ego mira
Descripsi docilis præcepta hæc, tempore quo me
Solatus jussit sapientem pascere barbam, 35
Atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.
Nam male re gesta cum vellem mittere operto
Me capite in flumen, dexter stetit, et Cave faxis
Te quicquam indignum: pudor (inquit) te malus angit,
Insanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi. 40
Primum nam inquiram, quid sit furere; hoc si erit in te
Solo, nil verbi, pereas quin fortiter, addam.
Quem mala stultitia, et quemcunque inscitia veri
Cæcum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
Autumat. Hæc populos, hæc magnos formula reges, 45
Excepto sapiente, tenet. Nunc accipe quare

Desipiant omnes æque ac tu, qui tibi nomen
Insano posuere. Velut silvis, ubi passim
Palantes error certo de tramite pellit;
Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit; unus utrique 50
Error, sed variis illudit partibus: hoc te
Crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille,
Qui te deridet, caudam trahat. Est genus unum
Stultitiæ nihilum metuenda timentis; ut ignes,
Ut rupes fluviosque in campo obstare queratur: 55
Alterum et huic varium, et nihilo sapientius, ignes
Per medios fluviosque ruentis: clamet amica
Mater, honesta soror, cum cognatis, pater, uxor;
Hic fossa est ingens! hic rupes maxima! serva!
Non magis audierit quam Fusius ebrius olim 60
Cum Ilionam edormît, Catienis mille ducentis,
Mater te appello, clamantibus. Huic ego vulgum
Errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.
Insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo.
Integer est mentis Damasippi creditor? esto: 65
Accipe quod nunquam reddas mihi, si tibi dicam,
Tune insanus eris, si acceperis; an magis excors,
Rejecta præda, quam præsens Mercurius fert?
Scribe decem a Nerio: non est satis; adde Cicutæ
Nodosi tabulas centum; mille adde catenas: 70
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.
Cum rapies in jus malis ridentem alienis,
Fiet aper, modo avis, modo saxum, et cum volet, arbor.
Si male rem gerere, insani est; contra, bene, sani;
Putidius multo cerebrum est (mihi crede) Perillì, 75
Dictantis, quod tu nunquam rescribere possis.
Audire, atque togam jubeo componere, quisquis
Ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,
Quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione,
Aut alio mentis morbo calet; huc propius me, 80
Dum doceo insanire omnes, vos ordine adite.
Danda est hellebori multo pars maxima avaris:

Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.
Hæredes Staberî summam incidere sepulcro;
Ni sic fecissent, gladiatorum dare centum 85
Damnati populo paria, atque epulum, arbitrio Arrî;
Frumenti quantum metit Africa. Sive ego prave,
Seu recte, hoc volui; ne sis patruus mihi. Credo
Hoc Staberî prudentem animum vidisse. Quid ergo
Sensit, cum summam patrimonî insculpere saxo 90
Hæredes voluit? Quoad vixit, credidit ingens
Pauperiem vitium, et cavit nihil acrius; ut si
Forte minus locuples uno quadrante perîsset,
Ipse videretur sibi nequior: omnis enim res,
Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris 95
Divitiis parent; quas qui contraxerit, ille
Clarus erit, fortis, justus—Sapiensne? Etiam! et rex,
Et quicquid volet. Hoc, veluti virtute paratum,
Speravit magnæ laudi fore. Quid simile isti
Græcus Aristippus, qui servos projicere aurum 100
In media jussit Libya, quia tardius irent
Propter onus segnes? uter est insanior horum?
Nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resolvit.
Siquis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
Nec studio citharæ nec Musæ deditus ulli; 105
Si scalpra et formas, non sutor; nautica vela,
Aversus mercaturis: delirus et amens
Undique dicatur merito. Quî discrepat istis,
Qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
Compositis, metuensque velut contingere sacrum? 110
Siquis ad ingentem frumenti semper acervum
Porrectus vigilet, cum longo fuste; neque illinc
Audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum,
Ac potius foliis parcus vescatur amaris:
Si positis intus Chii veterisque Falerni 115
Mille cadis—nihil est: tercentum millibus, acre
Potet acetum: age, si et stramentis incubet, unde-
Octoginta annos natus, cui stragula vestis,

Blattarum ac tinearum epulæ, putrescat in arca:
Nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod 120
Maxima pars hominum morbo jactatur eodem.
Filius, aut etiam hæc libertus ut ebibat hæres,
Dîs inimice senex custodis? ne tibi desit?
Quantulum enim summæ curtabit quisque dierum,
Ungere si caules oleo meliore, caputque 125
Cœperis impexa fœdum porrigine? Quare,
Si quidvis satis est, perjuras, surripis, aufers
Undique? tun' sanus? Populum si cædere saxis
Incipias, servosve tuo quos ære parâris,
Insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellæ: 130
Cum laqueo uxorem interimis, matremque veneno,
Incolumi capite es? Quid enim? Neque tu hoc facis Argis,
Nec ferro ut demens genitricem occidis Orestes.
An tu reris eum occisa insanîsse parente?
Ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis, quam 135
In matris jugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
Quin ex quo est habitus male tutæ mentis Orestes,
Nil sane fecit quod tu reprêndere possis:
Non Pyladen ferro violare ausus ve sororem
Electram; tantum maledicit utrique vocando 140
Hanc, Furiam; hunc, aliud, jussit quod splendida bilis.
Pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,
Qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
Campana solitus trulla, vappamque profestis,
Quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus, ut hæres 145
Jam circum loculos et claves lætus ovansque
Curreret: hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis
Excitat hoc pacto; mensam poni jubet, atque
Effundi saccos nummorum; accedere plures
Ad numerandum: hominem sic erigit: addit et illud, 150
Ni tua custodis, avidus jam hæc auferet hæres.
¶ Men' vivo? ¶ Ut vivas igitur, vigila: hoc age. ¶ Quid vis?
¶ Deficient inopem venæ te, ni cibus atque
Ingens accedat stomacho fultura ruenti.

Tu cessas? agedum sume hoc ptisanarium oryzæ. 155
¶ Quanti emptæ? ¶ Parvo. ¶ Quanti ergo? ¶ Octussibus.
¶ Eheu!
Quid refert, morbo, an furtis pereamve rapinis?
Quisnam igitur sanus? Qui non stultus. Quid avarus?
Stultus et insanus. Quid? siquis non sit avarus,
Continuo sanus? Minime. Cur, Stoice? Dicam. 160
Non est cardiacus, Craterum dixisse putato,
Hic æger: recte est igitur, surgetque? negabit;
Quod latus aut renes morbo tentantur acuto.
Non est perjurus, neque sordidus; immolet æquis
Hic porcum Laribus: verum ambitiosus et audax; 165
Naviget Anticyram: quid enim differt, barathrone
Dones quicquid habes, an nunquam utare paratis?
Servius Oppidius Canusî duo prædia, dives
Antiquo censu, natis divîsse duobus
Fertur, et hæc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis 170
Ad lectum, Postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
Ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi;
Te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem:
Extimui ne vos ageret vesania discors;
Tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam. 175
Quare per divos oratus uterque Penates,
Tu cave ne minuas; tu, ne majus facias id
Quod satis esse putat pater, et natura coërcet.
Præterea ne vos titillet gloria, jure-
Jurando obstringam ambo: uter ædilis fuerit ve 180
Vestrûm prætor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.
In cicere atque faba bona tu perdas que lupinis,
Latus ut in Circo spatiere, aut æneus ut stes,
Nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis?
Scilicet ut plausus, quos fert Agrippa, feras tu, 185
Astuta ingenuum vulpes imitata leonem?
Nequis humâsse velit Ajacem, Atrida, vetas cur?
¶ Rex sum. ¶ Nil ultra quæro plebeius. ¶ Et æquam
Rem imperito: at sicui videor non justus, inulto
Dicere, quod sentis, permitto. ¶ Maxime regum, 190

Dii tibi dent capta classem reducere Troja!
Ergo consulere, et mox respondere licebit?
¶ Consule. ¶ Cur Ajax heros ab Achille secundus
Putescit, toties servatis clarus Achivis,
Gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato, 195
Per quem tot juvenes patrio caruere sepulchro?
¶ Mille ovium insanus morti dedit; inclytum Ulyssem
Et Menelaum una mecum se occidere clamans.
¶ Tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam
Ante aras, spargisque mola caput, improbe, salsa, 200
Rectum animi servas? ¶ Quorsum? ¶ Insanus quid enim Ajax
Fecit, cum stravit ferro pecus? abstinuit vim
Uxore et gnato, mala multa precatus Atridis.
Non ille aut Teucrum, aut ipsum violavit Ulyssem.
¶ Verum ego, ut hærentes adverso littore naves 205
Eriperem, prudens placavi sanguine divos.
¶ Nempe tuo, furiose. ¶ Meo; sed non furiosus.
¶ Qui species alias veri scelerisque tumultu
Permistas capiet, commotus habebitur; atque,
Stultitiane erret, nihilum distabit, an ira. 210
Ajax cum immeritos occidit, desipit, agnos?
Cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis inanes,
Stas animo? et purum est vitio tibi cum tumidum est cor?
Siquis lectica nitidam gestare amet agnam,
Huic vestem ut gnatæ paret, ancillas paret, aurum, 215
Rufam et Rufillam appellet, fortique marito
Destinet uxorem; interdicto huic omne adimat jus
Prætor, et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.
Quid? siquis gnatam pro muta devovet agna,
Integer est animi? ne dixeris. Ergo, ubi prava 220
Stultitia, hic est summa insania: qui sceleratus,
Et furiosus erit; quem cepit vitrea fama,
Hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.
Nunc age, luxuriam et Nomentanum arripe mecum:
Vincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes. 225
Hic simul accepit patrimonî mille talenta,
Edicit, piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,

Unguentarius, ac Tusci turba impia vici,
Cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum,
Mane domum veniant. Quid tum? Venere frequentes, 230
Verba facit leno, Quicquid mihi, quicquid et horum
Cuique domi est, id crede tuum: et vel nunc pete, vel cras.
Accipe quid contra juvenis responderit æquus;
In nive Lucana dormis ocreatus, ut aprum
Cœnem ego; tu pisces hiberno ex æquore vellis; 235
Segnis ego, indignus qui tantum possideam: aufer!
Sume tibi decies; tibi tantundem; tibi triplex,
Unde uxor media currit de nocte citata.
Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,
Scilicet ut decies solidûm exsorberet, aceto 240
Diluit insignem baccam; quî sanior, ac si
Illud idem in rapidum flumen, jaceretve cloacam?
Quinti progenies Arrî, par nobile fratrum,
Nequitia et nugis, pravorum et amore gemellum,
Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coëmtas: 245
Quorsum abeant? sanin' creta, an carbone notandi?
Ædificare casas, plostello adjungere mures,
Ludere par impar, equitare in arundine longa,
Si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verset.
Si puerilius his, ratio esse evincet, amare; 250
Nec quidquam differre, utrumne in pulvere, trimus
Quale prius, ludas opus, an meretricis amore
Solicitus plores: quæro, faciasne quod olim
Mutatus Polemon? ponas insignia morbi,
Fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille 255
Dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,
Postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri?
Porrigis irato puero cum poma, recusat:
Sume, Catelle; negat: si non des, optat. Amator
Exclusus quî distat, agit ubi secum, eat, an non, 260
Quo rediturus erat non arcessitus, et hæret
Invisis foribus? Ne nunc, cum me vocat ultro,
Accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?

Exclusit, revocat: redeam? non, si obsecret. Ecce
Servus, non paulo sapientior; O here, quæ res 265
Nec modum habet, neque consilium, ratione modoque
Tractari non vult: in amore hæc sunt mala; bellum,
Pax rursum; hæc siquis tempestatis prope ritu
Mobilia, et cæca fluitantia sorte, laboret
Reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet, ac si 270
Insanire paret certa ratione modoque.
Quid? cum Picenis excerpens semina pomis,
Gaudes si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?
Quid? cum balba feris annoso verba palato,
Ædificante casas quî sanior? Adde cruorem 275
Stultitiæ, atque ignem gladio scrutare: modo, inquam,
Hellade percussa Marius cum præcipitât se,
Cerritus fuit? an commotæ crimine mentis
Absolves hominem, et sceleris damnabis eundem,
Ex more imponens cognata vocabula rebus? 280
Libertinus erat, qui circum compita siccus
Lautis mane senex manibus currebat: et, Unum
(Quid tam magnum? addens) unum me surpite morti,
Diis etenim facile est, orabat; sanus utrisque
Auribus atque oculis; mentem, nisi litigiosus, 285
Exciperet dominus cum venderet: hoc quoque vulgus
Chrysippus ponit fœcunda in gente Meneni.
Jupiter, ingentes qui das adimisque dolores,
Mater ait pueri menses jam quinque cubantis,
Frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo 290
Mane die quo tu indicis jejunia, nudus
In Tiberi stabit: casus medicusve levârit
Ægrum ex præcipiti, mater delira necabit
In gelida fixum ripa, febrimque reducet:
Quone malo mentem concussa? timore Deorum. 295
Hæc mihi Stertinius sapientum octavus amico
Arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.
Dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet; atque
Respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo.

¶ Stoice, post damnum sic vendas omnia pluris: 300
Qua me stultitia (quoniam non est genus unum)
Insanire putas? ego nam videor mihi sanus.
¶ Quid, caput abscissum demens cum portat Agave
Gnati infelicis, sibi tum furiosa videtur?
¶ Stultum me fateor (liceat concedere veris) 305
Atque etiam insanum; tantum hoc edissere, quo me
Ægrotare putes animi vitio. ¶ Accipe; primum
Ædificas, hoc est, longos imitaris, ab imo
Ad summum totus moduli bipedalis; et idem
Corpore majorem rides Turbonis in armis 310
Spiritum et incessum: quî ridiculus minus illo?
An quodcunque facit Mæcenas, te quoque verum est,
Tanto dissimilem, et tanto certare minorem?
Absentis ranæ pullis vituli pede pressis,
Unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens 315
Belua cognatos eliserit: illa rogare,
Quantane? num tantum, sufflans se, magna fuisset?
¶ Major dimidio. ¶ Num tantum? ¶ Cum magis atque
Se magis inflaret; Non, si te ruperis, inquit,
Par eris. Hæc a te non multum abludit imago. 320
Adde poëmata nunc (hoc est, oleum adde camino)
Quæ siquis sanus fecit, sanus facis et tu.
Non dico horrendam rabiem. ¶ Jam desine. ¶ Cultum
Majorem censu. ¶ Teneas, Damasippe, tuis te.
¶ Mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores. 325
¶ O major tandem parcas, insane, minori.

SATIRA IV.

Unde, et quo Catius? ¶ Non est mihi tempus aventi
Ponere signa novis præceptis, qualia vincunt
Pythagoran, Anytique reum, doctumque Platona.
¶ Peccatum fateor, cum te sic tempore lævo

Interpellàrim: sed des veniam bonus, oro. 5
Quod si interciderit tibi nunc aliquid, repetes mox;
Sive est naturæ hoc, sive artis, mirus utroque.
¶ Quin id erat curæ, quo pacto cuncta tenerem;
Utpote res tenues, tenui sermone peractas.
¶ Ede hominis nomen; simul et, Romanus an hospes. 10
¶ Ipsa memor præcepta canam; celabitur auctor.
Longa quibus facies ovis erit, illa memento,
Ut succi melioris, et ut magis alma rotundis
Ponere: namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.
Cole suburbano, qui siccis crevit in agris 15
Dulcior; irriguo nihil est elutius horto.
Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes,
Ne gallina malum responset dura palato,
Doctus eris vivam misto mersare Falerno;
Hoc teneram faciet. Pratensibus optima fungis 20
Natura est: aliis male creditur. Ille salubres
Æstates peraget, qui nigris prandia moris
Finiet, ante gravem quæ legerit arbore solem.
Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
Mendose; quoniam vacuis committere venis 25
Nil nisi lene decet: leni præcordia mulso
Prolueris melius. Si dura morabitur alvus,
Mytilus et viles pellent obstantia conchæ,
Et lapathi brevis herba, sed albo non sine Coo.
Lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunæ. 30
Sed non omne mare est generosæ fertile testæ.
Murice Bajano melior Lucrina peloris:
Ostrea Circeiis, Miseno oriuntur echini;
Pectinibus patulis jactat se molle Tarentum.
Nec sibi cœnarum quivis temere arroget artem, 35
Non prius exacta tenui ratione saporum.
Nec satis est cara pisces averrere mensa,
Ignarum quibus est jus aptius, et quibus assis
Languidus in cubitum jam se conviva reponet.
Umber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas 40

Curvet aper lances carnem vitantis inertem:
Nam Laurens malus est, ulvis et arundine pinguis.
Vinea summittit capreas non semper edules.
Fecundæ leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.
Piscibus atque avibus quæ natura et foret ætas, 45
Ante meum nulli patuit quæsita palatum.
Sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit.
Nequaquam satis in re una consumere curam:
Ut siquis solum hoc, mala ne sint vina, laboret,
Quali perfundat pisces, securus, olivo, 50
Massica si cœlo supponas vina sereno,
Nocturna, siquid crassi est, tenuabitur aura,
Et decedet odor nervis inimicus; at illa
Integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.
Surrentina vafer qui miscet fæce Falerna 55
Vina, columbino limum bene colligit ovo;
Quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.
Tostis marcentem squillis recreabis et Afra
Potorem cochlea; nam lactuca innatat acri
Post vinum stomacho: perna magis ac magis hillis 60
Flagitat in morsus refici; quin omnia malit
Quæcunque immundis fervent illata popinis.
Est operæ pretium duplicis pernoscere juris
Naturam: simplex e dulci constat olivo,
Quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit, 65
Non alia quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.
Hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis,
Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes
Pressa Venafranæ quod bacca remisit olivæ.
Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia succo; 70
Nam facie præstant. Venucula convenit ollis,
Rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam:
Hanc ego cum malis, ego fæcem primus et halec,
Primus et invenior piper album, cum sale nigro
Incretum, puris circumposuisse catillis. 75
Immane est vitium, dare millia terna macello,

Angustoque vagos pisces urguere catino.
Magna movet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
Tractavit calicem manibus, dum furta ligurrit;
Sive gravis veteri crateræ limus adhæsit. 80
Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe, quantus
Consistit sumtus? neglectis, flagitium ingens.
Ten' lapides varios lutulenta radere palma,
Et Tyrias dare circum illota toralia vestes?
Oblitum, quanto curam sumtumque minorem 85
Hæc habeant, tanto reprêndi justius illis,
Quæ nisi divitibus nequeant contingere mensis.
¶ Docte Cati, per amicitiam divosque rogatus,
Ducere me auditum, perges quocunque, memento.
Nam quamvis referas memori mihi pectore cuncta, 90
Non tamen interpres tantundem juveris; adde
Vultum habitumque hominis; quem tu vidisse beatus,
Non magni pendis, quia contigit: at mihi cura
Non mediocris inest, fontes ut adire remotos,
Atque haurire queam vitæ præcepta beatæ. 95

SATIRA V.

Hoc quoque, Tiresia, præter narrata petenti
Responde: quibus amissas reparare queam res
Artibus atque modis. Quid rides? ¶ Jamne doloso
Non satis est Ithacam revehi, patriosque penates
Aspicere? ¶ O nulli quidquam mentite, vides ut 5
Nudus inopsque domum redeam, te vate, neque illic
Aut apotheca procis intacta est, aut pecus: atqui
Et genus, et virtus, nisi cum re, vilior alga est.
¶ Quando pauperiem, missis ambagibus, horres,
Accipe, qua ratione queas ditescere. Turdus 10
Sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc,
Res ubi magna nitet, domino sene; dulcia poma,
Et quoscunque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,

Ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lara dives;
Qui quamvis perjurus erit, sine gente, cruentus 15
Sanguine fraterno, fugitivus; ne tamen illi
Tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses.
¶ Utne tegam spurco Damæ latus? haud ita Trojæ
Me gessi, certans semper melioribus. ¶ Ergo
Pauper eris. ¶ Fortem hoc animum tolerare jubebo: 20
Et quondam majora tuli. Tu protinus, unde
Divitias ærisque ruam, dic Augur, acervos.
¶ Dixi equidem, et dico. Captes astutus ubique
Testamenta senum: neu si vafer unus et alter
Insidiatorem præroso fugerit hamo, 25
Aut spem deponas, aut artem illusus omittas.
Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,
Vivet uter locuples sine natis, improbus ultro
Qui meliorem audax vocet in jus, illius esto
Defensor: fama civem causaque priorem 30
Sperne, domi si natus erit fecundave conjux.
Quinte, puta, aut Publi (gaudent prænomine molles
Auriculæ) tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum:
Jus anceps novi, causas defendere possum:
Eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi, quam te 35
Contemtum quassa nuce pauperet: hæc mea cura est,
Ne quid tu perdas, neu sis jocus: ire domum atque
Pelliculam curare jube: fi cognitor ipse.
Persta, atque obdura, seu rubra canicula findet
Infantes statuas; seu pingui tentus omaso 40
Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpes.
Nonne vides (aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens
Inquiet) ut patiens! ut amicis aptus! ut acer!
Plures annabunt thunni, et cetaria crescent.
Si cui præterea validus male filius in re 45
Præclara sublatus aletur; ne manifestum
Cœlibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
Adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
Hæres, et siquis casus puerum egerit Orco,

In vacuum venias: perraro hæc alea fallit. 50
Qui testamentum tradet tibi cumque legendum,
Abnuere, et tabulas a te removere memento:
Sic tamen ut limis rapias quid prima secundo
Cera velit versu; solus, multisne cohæres,
Veloci percurre oculo. Plerumque recoctus 55
Scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem,
Captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano.
¶ Num furis? an prudens ludis me, obscura canendo?
¶ O Laërtiade, quicquid dicam, aut erit, aut non:
Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo. 60
¶ Quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede.
¶ Tempore quo juvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto
Demissum genus Ænea, tellure marique
Magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano
Filia Nasicæ, metuentis reddere soldum. 65
Tum gener hoc faciet; tabulas socero dabit, atque
Ut legat orabit: multum Nasica negatas
Accipiet tandem, et tacitus leget; invenietque
Nil sibi legatum, præter plorare, suisque.
Illud ad hæc jubeo; mulier si forte dolosa 70
Libertusve senem delirum temperet, illis
Accedas socius: laudes, lauderis ut absens:
Adjuvat hoc quoque; sed vincit longe prius ipsum
Expugnare caput: scribet mala carmina vecors?
Laudato: scortator erit? cave te roget: ultro 75
Penelopen facilis potiori trade. ¶ Putasne,
Perduci poterit tam frugi tamque pudica,
Quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu?
¶ Venit enim magnum donandi parca juventus,
Nec tantum Veneris quantum studiosa culinæ; 80
Sic tibi Penelope frugi est: quæ si semel uno
De sene gustârit tecum partita lucellum,
Ut canis, a corio nunquam absterrebitur uncto.
Me sene, quod dicam, factum est; anus improba Thebis
Ex testamento sic est elata; cadaver 85

Unctum oleo largo nudis humeris tulit hæres:
Scilicet elabi si posset mortua: credo,
Quod nimium institerat viventi. Cautus adito:
Neu desis operæ, neve immoderatus abundes.
Difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus: ultro 90
Non etiam sileas. Davus sis comicus, atque
Stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti.
Obsequio grassare: mone, si increbruit aura,
Cautus uti velet carum caput: extrahe turba,
Oppositis humeris: aurem substringe loquaci. 95
Importunus amat laudari? donec Ohe! jam
Ad cœlum manibus sublatis, dixerit, urgue; et
Crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.
Cum te servitio longo curaque levârit;
Et certum vigilans, Quartæ esto partis Ulysses, 100
Audieris, hæres: Ergo nunc Dama sodalis
Nusquam est? unde mihi tam fortem, tamque fidelem?
Sparge subinde: et, si paulum potes, illacrymare. Est
Gaudia prodentem vultum celare. Sepulcrum
Permissum arbitrio, sine sordibus exstrue: funus 105
Egregie factum laudet vicinia. Siquis
Forte cohæredum senior male tussiet, huic tu
Dic, ex parte tua, seu fundi sive domus sit
Emtor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. Sed me
Imperiosa trahit Proserpina: vive valeque. 110

SATIRA VI.

Hoc erat in votis; modus agri non ita magnus,
Hortus ubi, et tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons
Et paulum silvæ super his foret: auctius atque
DI melius fecere: bene est: nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria hæc mihi munera faxis. 5
Si neque majorem feci ratione mala rem,

Nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem;
Si veneror stultus nihil horum; O si angulus ille
Proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!
O si urnam argenti fors quæ mihi monstret! ut illi, 10
Thesauro invento qui mercenarius agrum
Illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule. Si, quod adest, gratum juvat; hac prece te oro,
Pingue pecus domino facias, et cætera, præter
Ingenium: utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis. 15
Ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,
(Quid prius illustrem Satiris Musaque pedestri?)
Nec mala me ambitio perdit, nec plumbeus Auster,
Autumnusque gravis, Libitinæ quæstus acerbæ.
Matutine pater, seu Jane libentius audis, 20
Unde homines operum primos vitæque labores
Instituunt (sic Diis placitum) tu carminis esto
Principium. Romæ sponsorem me rapis. ¶ Eja,
Ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urgue:
Sive Aquilo radit terras, seu bruma nivalem 25
Interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
¶ Postmodo, quod mî obsit, clare certumque locuto,
Luctandum in turba; facienda injuria tardis.
¶ Quid vis insane? et quas res agis? improbus urguet
Iratis precibus; tu pulses omne quod obstat, 30
Ad Mæcenatem memori si mente recurras?
¶ Hoc juvat, et melli est, non mentiar. At simul atras
Ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
Per caput et circa saliunt latus. Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras. 35
De re communi scribæ magna atque nova te
Orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.
Imprimat his cura Mæcenas signa tabellis.
Dixeris, Experiar: Si vis, potes, addit, et instat.
Septimus octavo propior jam fugerit annus, 40
Ex quo Mæcenas me cœpit habere suorum
In numero, duntaxat ad hoc, quem tollere rheda

Vellet, iter faciens, et cui concredere nugas
Hoc genus; Hora quota est? Threx est Gallina Syro par?
Matutina parum cautos jam frigora mordent: 45
Et quæ rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.
Per totum hoc tempus subjectior in diem et horam
Invidiæ. Noster ludos spectaverat una;
Luserat in Campo; Fortunæ filius; omnes.
Frigidus a Rostris manat per compita rumor: 50
Quicunque obvius est, me consulit; ¶ O bone (nam te
Scire, Deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet)
Num quid de Dacis audisti? ¶ Nil equidem. ¶ Ut tu
Semper eris derisor! ¶ At omnes DI exagitent me,
Si quicquam. ¶ Quid? militibus promissa Triquetra 55
Prædia Cæsar; an est Itala tellure daturus?
Jurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
Scilicet egregii mortalem altique silentî.
Perditur hæc inter misero lux, non sine votis:
O rus quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit, 60
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis
Ducere solicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ?
O quando faba Pythagoræ cognata, simulque
Uncta satis pingui ponentur oluscula lardo?
O noctes cœnæque deûm! quibus ipse meique, 65
Ante larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces
Pasco libatis dapibus. Prout cuique libido est,
Siccat inæquales calices conviva solutus
Legibus insanis; seu quis capit acria fortis
Pocula, seu modicis uvescit lætius. Ergo 70
Sermo oritur non de villis domibusve alienis,
Nec, male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, et nescire malum est, agitamus: utrumne
Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati;
Quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne trahat nos; 75
Et quæ sit natura boni; summumque quid ejus.
Cervius hæc inter vicinus garrit aniles
Ex re fabellas. Siquis nam laudat Arellî

Solicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit. ¶ Olim
Rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur 80
Accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum;
Asper, et attentus quæsitis, ut tamen arctum
Solveret hospitiis animum. Quid multa? neque ille
Sepositi ciceris, nec longæ invidit avenæ:
Aridum et ore ferens acinum, semesaque lardi 85
Frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cœna
Vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo:
Cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
Esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
Tandem urbanus ad hunc, Quid te juvat, inquit, amice, 90
Prærupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
Vis tu homines urbemque feris præponere silvis?
Carpe viam (mihi crede) comes, terrestria quando
Mortales animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
Aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa, 95
Dum licet, in rebus jucundis vive beatus:
Vive memor quam sis ævi brevis. Hæc ubi dicta
Agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit: inde
Ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
Mœnia nocturni subrepere. Jamque tenebat 100
Nox medium cœli spatium, cum ponit uterque
In locuplete domo vestigia; rubro ubi cocco
Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,
Multaque de magna superessent fercula cœna,
Quæ procul exstructis inerant hesterna canistris. 105
Ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit
Agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes,
Continuatque dapes; nec non vernaliter ipsis
Fungitur officiis, prælambens omne quod affert.
Ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte, bonisque 110
Rebus agit lætum convivam; cum subito ingens
Valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
Currere per totum pavidi conclave; magisque
Exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis

Personuit canibus. Tum rusticus, Haud mihi vita 115
Est opus hac, ait, et valeas: me silva cavusque
Tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo.

SATIRA VII.

JAMDUDUM ausculto; et cupiens tibi dicere servus
Pauca, reformido. ¶ Davusne? ¶ Ita, Davus, amicum
Mancipium domino, et frugi quod sit satis; hoc est,
Ut vitale putes. ¶ Age, libertate Decembri
(Quando ita majores voluerunt) utere; narra. 5
¶ Pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter, et urguet
Propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens,
Interdum pravis obnoxia: sæpe notatus
Cum tribus anellis, modo læva Priscus inani,
Vixit inæqualis, clavum ut mutaret in horas, 10
Ædibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde
Mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste.
Jam mœchus Romæ, jam mallet doctor Athenis
Vivere, Vertumnis, quotquot sunt, natus iniquis.
Scurra Volanerius, postquam illi justa cheragra 15
Contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque
Mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
Conductum pavit: quanto constantior idem
In vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo
Qui jam contento, jam laxo fune laborat. 20
Non dices hodie, quorsum hæc tam putida tendant,
Furcifer? Ad te, inquam. Quo pacto, pessime? Laudas
Fortunam et mores antiquæ plebis; et idem,
Siquis ad illa Deus subito te agat, usque recuses;
Aut quia non sentis quod clamas rectius esse, 25
Aut quia non firmus rectum defendis, et hæres,
Nequicquam cœno cupiens evellere plantam.
Romæ rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem

Tollis ad astra levis. Si nusquam es forte vocatus
Ad cœnam, laudas securum olus: ac, velut usquam 30
Vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis, amasque,
Quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. Jusserit ad se
Mæcenas serum sub lumina prima venire
Convivam; Nemon' oleum fert ocius? ecquis
Audit? cum magno blateras clamore, furisque. 35
Milvius et scurræ tibi non referenda precati
Discedunt. Etenim fateor me, dixerit ille,
Duci ventre levem; nasum nidore supinor;
Imbecillus, iners, siquid vis, adde, popino.
Tu, cum sis quod ego, et fortassis nequior, ultro 40
Insectere, velut melior? verbisque decoris
Obvolvas vitium? quid si me stultior ipso
Quingentis emto drachmis deprênderis? aufer
Me vultu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,
Dum, quæ Crispini docuit me janitor, edo. 45
Te conjux aliena capit, meretricula Davum:
Peccat uter nostrûm cruce dignius? acris ubi me
Natura incendit, sub clara nuda lucerna
Quæcunque excepit turgentis verbera caudæ
Clunibus, aut agitavit equum lasciva supinum, 50
Dimittit neque famosum, neque solicitum, ne
Ditior, aut formæ melioris meiat eodem.
Tu, cum projectis insignibus, annulo equestri
Romanoque habitu, prodis ex judice Dama
Turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacerna, 55
Non es quod simulas? metuens induceris, atque
Altercante libidinibus tremis ossa pavore.
Quid refert, uri virgis, ferroque necari
Auctoratus eas; an turpi clausus in arca,
Quo te demisit peccati conscia herilis 60
Contractum, genibus tangas caput? Estne marito
Matronæ peccantis in ambo justa potestas?
In corruptorem vel justior: illa tamen se
Non habitu mutatve loco, peccatve superne,

Cum te formidet mulier, neque credat amanti. 65
Ibis sub furcam prudens, dominoque furenti
Committes rem omnem, et vitam, et cum corpore famam.
Evâsti? metues, credo, doctusque cavebis:
Quæres quando iterum paveas, iterumque perire
Possis. O toties servus! quæ belua ruptis, 70
Cum semel effugit, reddit se prava catenis?
Non sum mœchus, ait: neque ego, hercule, fur, ubi vasa
Prætereo sapiens argentea: tolle periclum,
Jam vaga prosiliet frænis natura remotis.
Tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque 75
Tot tantisque minor? quem ter vindicta quaterque
Imposita haud unquam misera formidine privet.
Adde super, dictis quod non levius valeat; nam
Sive vicarius est, qui servo paret, uti mos
Vester ait; seu conservus: tibi quid sum ego? nempe 80
Tu, mihi qui imperitas, aliis servis miser, atque
Duceris ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.
Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus:
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent;
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores 85
Fortis; et in seipso totus teres atque rotundus,
Externi nequid valeat per leve morari;
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna. Potesne
Ex his ut proprium quid noscere? Quinque talenta
Poscit te mulier, vexat, foribusque repulsum 90
Perfundit gelida: rursus vocat: eripe turpi
Colla jugo: liber, liber sum, dic age. Non quis.
Urget enim dominus mentem non lenis, et acres
Subjectat lasso stimulos, versatque negantem.
Vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella, 95
Qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fulvi, Rutubæque
Aut Placideiani contento poplite miror
Prœlia, rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si
Re vera pugnent, feriant, vitentque moventes
Arma viri? Nequam et cessator Davus; at ipse 100

Subtilis veterum judex et callidus audis.
Nil ego, si ducor libo fumante; tibi ingens
Virtus atque animus cœnis responsat opimis?
Obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est: cur?
Tergo plector enim; quî tu impunitior illa, 105
Quæ parvo sumi nequeunt, opsonia captas?
Nempe inamarescunt epulæ sine fine petitæ,
Illusique pedes vitiosum ferre recusant
Corpus. An hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uvam
Furtiva mutat strigili? qui prædia vendit, 110
Nil servile, gulæ parens, habet? Adde, quod idem
Non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte
Ponere; teque ipsum vitas, fugitivus ut erro,
Jam vino quærens, jam somno fallere curam:
Frustra: nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem. 115
¶ Unde mihi lapidem? ¶ Quorsum est opus? ¶ Unde sagittas?
¶ Aut insanit homo, aut versus facit. ¶ Ocius hinc te
Ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino.

SATIRA VIII.

Ut Nasidieni juvit te cœna beati?
Nam mihi quærenti convivam, dictus here illic
De medio potare die. ¶ Sic, ut mihi nunquam
In vita fuerit melius. ¶ Da, si grave non est,
Quæ prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca. 5
In primis Lucanus aper: leni fuit Austro
Captus, ut aiebat cœnæ pater; acria circum
Rapula, lactucæ, radices, qualia lassum
Pervellunt stomachum; siser, halec, fæcula Coa.
His ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam 10
Gausape purpureo mensam pertersit, et alter
Sublegit quodcunque jaceret inutile, quodque
Posset cœnantes offendere: ut Attica virgo

Cum sacris Cereris, procedit fuscus Hydaspes,
Cæcuba vina ferens; Alcon, Chium, maris expers. 15
Hic herus; Albanum, Mæcenas, sive Falernum
Te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque.
¶ Divitias miseras! Sed queis cœnantibus una,
Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nôsse laboro.
¶ Summus ego, et prope me Viscus Thurinus, et infra, 20
Si memini, Varius; cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quos Mæcenas adduxerat umbras.
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra,
Ridiculus totas simul obsorbere placentas:
Nomentanus ad hoc, qui siquid forte lateret, 25
Indice monstraret digito: nam cætera turba,
Nos, inquam, cœnamus aves, conchylia, pisces,
Longe dissimilem noto celantia succum;
Ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque
Ingustata mihi porrexerat ilia rhombi. 30
Post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem
Ad lunam delecta: quid hoc intersit, ab ipso
Audieris melius. Tum Vibidius Balatroni;
Nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti:
Et calices poscit majores: vertere pallor 35
Tum parochi faciem, nil sic metuentis ut acres
Potores; vel quod maledicunt liberius, vel
Fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum.
Invertunt Alliphanis vinaria tota
Vibidius Balatroque, secutis omnibus: imi 40
Convivæ lecti nihilum nocuere lagenis.
Affertur squillas inter muræna natantes
In patina porrecta. Sub hoc herus, Hæc gravida, inquit,
Capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.
His mistum jus est, oleo, quod prima Venafri 45
Pressit cella; garo de succis piscis Iberi;
Vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato,
Dum coquitur (cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non
Hoc magis ullum aliud); pipere albo, non sine aceto,

Quod Methymnæam vitio mutaverit uvam. 50
Erucas virides, inulas ego primus amaras
Monstravi incoquere, (inlutos Curtillus echinos,)
Ut melius, muria, quam testa marina remittit.
Interea suspensa graves aulæa ruinas
In patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri 55
Quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
Nos majus veriti, postquam nihil esse pericli
Sensimus, erigimur. Rufus, posito capite, ut si
Filius immaturus obîsset, flere. Quis esset
Finis, ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum 60
Tolleret; Heu Fortuna! quis est crudelior in nos
Te Deus? ut semper gaudes illudere rebus
Humanis! Varius mappa compescere risum
Vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso,
Hæc est conditio vivendi, aiebat; eoque 65
Responsura tuo nunquam est par fama labori.
Tene, ut ego accipiar laute, torquerier omni
Solicitudine districtum? ne panis adustus,
Ne male conditum jus apponatur? ut omnes
Præcincti recte pueri comptique ministrent? 70
Adde hos præterea casus; aulæa ruant si,
Ut modo; si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.
Sed convivatoris, uti ducis, ingenium res
Adversæ nudare solent, celare secundæ.
Nasidienus ad hæc; Tibi Dii, quæcunque preceris, 75
Commoda dent; ita vir bonus es, convivaque comis:
Et soleas poscit: tum in lecto quoque videres
Stridere secreta divisos aure susurros.
¶ Nullos his mallem ludos spectâsse: sed illa
Redde, age, quæ deinceps risisti. ¶ Vibidius dum 80
Quærit de pueris, num sit quoque fracta lagena,
Quod sibi poscenti non dentur pocula; dumque
Ridetur fictis rerum, Balatrone secundo;
Nasidiene, redis mutatæ frontis, ut arte
Emendaturus fortunam: deinde secuti 85

Mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes
Membra gruis, sparsi sale multo non sine farre;
Pinguibus et ficis pastum jecur anseris albi;
Et leporum avulsos, ut multo suavius, armos,
Quam si cum lumbis quis edit: tum pectore adusto 90
Vidimus et merulas poni, et sine clune palumbes;
Suaves res, si non causas narraret earum et
Naturas dominus; quem nos sic fugimus ulti,
Ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis
Canidia afflâsset, pejor serpentibus Afris. 95

Q. HORATII FLACCI

EPODON LIBER.

I. (METRUM I.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

IBIS Liburnis inter alta navium,
  Amice, propugnacula,
Paratus omne Cæsaris periculum
  Subire, Mæcenas, tuo?
Quid nos, quibus te vita si superstite 5
  Jucunda; si contra, gravis?
Utrumne jussi persequemur otium,
  Non dulce, ni tecum simul?
An hunc laborem mente laturi, decet
  Qua ferre non molles viros? 10
Feremus; et te vel per Alpium juga,
  Inhospitalem et Caucasum,
Vel occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum,
  Forti sequemur pectore.
Roges, tuum labore quid juvem meo, 15
  Imbellis ac firmus parum?
Comes minore sum futurus in metu,
  Qui major absentes habet.
Ut assidens implumibus pullis avis
  Serpentium adlapsus timet, 20
Magis relictis; non, ut adsit, auxilì
  Latura plus præsentibus.
Libenter hoc et omne militabitur
  Bellum in tuæ spem gratiæ;
Non ut juvencis illigata pluribus 25
  Aratra nitantur meis,

Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
  Lucana mutet pascua,
Nec ut superni villa candens Tusculi
  Circæa tangat mœnia: 30
Satis superque me benignitas tua
  Ditavit: haud paravero
Quod aut avarus, ut Chremes, terra premam,
  Discinctus aut perdam ut nepos.

II. (M. I.)

VITÆ RUSTICÆ LAUDES.

Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis
  (Ut prisca gens mortalium)
Paterna rura bubus exercet suis,
  Solutus omni fœnore.
Neque excitatur classico miles truci, 5
  Neque horret iratum mare;
Forumque vitat et superba civium
  Potentiorum limina.
Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
  Altas maritat populos, 10
Inutilesque falce ramos amputans,
  Feliciores inserit;
Aut in reducta valle mugientium
  Prospectat errantes greges;
Aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris; 15
  Aut tondet infirmas oves;
Vel, cum decorum mitibus pomis caput
  Autumnus arvis extulit,
Ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pyra,
  Certantem et uvam purpuræ, 20
Qua muneretur te Priape, et te pater

Sylvane, tutor finium!
Libet jacere modo sub antiqua ilice,
Modo in tenaci gramine.
Labuntur altis interim ripis aquæ; 25
Queruntur in sylvis aves;
Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
Somnos quod invitet leves.
At cum tonantis annus hibernus Jovis
Imbres nivesque comparat, 30
Aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multa cane
Apros in obstantes plagas;
Aut amite levi rara tendit retia,
Turdis edacibus dolos;
Pavidumque leporem, et advenam laqueo gruem, 35
Jucunda captat præmia.
Quis non malarum, quas amor curas habet,
Hæc inter obliviscitur?
Quod si pudica mulier in partem juvet
Domum atque dulces liberos, 40
(Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Appuli,)
Sacram vetustis exstruat lignis focum
Lassi sub adventum viri:
Claudensque textis cratibus lætum pecus, 45
Distenta siccet ubera;
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio,
Dapes inemtas apparet;—
Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia,
Magisve rhombus, aut scari, 50
Si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
Hiems ad hoc vertat mare:
Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,
Non attagen Ionicus
Jucundior, quam lecta de pinguissimis 55
Oliva ramis arborum,
Aut herba lapathi prata amantis, et gravi

Malvæ salubres corpori,
Vel agna festis cæsa Terminalibus,
Vel hædus ereptus lupo. 60
Has inter epulas, ut juvat pastas oves
Videre properantes domum!
Videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
Collo trahentes languido,
Positosque vernas, ditis examen domus, 65
Circum renidentes Lares!
Hæc ubi locutus fœnerator Alfius,
Jamjam futurus rusticus,
Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam;
Quærit Calendis ponere.

III. (M. I.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

Parentis olim siquis impia manu
Senile guttur fregerit,
Edit cicutis alium nocentius.
O dura messorum ilia!
Quid hoc veneni sævit in præcordiis? 5
Num viperinus his cruor
Incoctus herbis me fefellit? an malas
Canidia tractavit dapes?
Ut Argonautas præter omnes candidum
Medea mirata est ducem, 10
Ignota tauris illigaturum juga
Perunxit hoc Iasonem:
Hoc delibutis ulta donis pellicem,
Serpente fugit alite.
Nec tantus unquam siderum insedit vapor 15
Siticulosæ Appuliæ;

Nec munus humeris efficacis Herculis
  Inarsit æstuosius.
At, siquid unquam tale concupiveris,
  Jocose Mæcenas, precor 20
Manum puella savio opponat tuo,
  Extrema et in sponda cubet.

IV. (M. I.)

AD MÆNAM, POMPEII LIBERTUM.

Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit,
  Tecum mihi discordia est,
Ibericis peruste funibus latus,
  Et crura dura compede.
Licet superbus ambules pecunia, 5
  Fortuna non mutat genus.
Videsne, sacram metiente te viam
  Cum bis ter ulnarum toga,
Ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
  Liberrima indignatio? 10
Sectus flagellis hic Triumviralibus,
  Præconis ad fastidium,
Arat Falerni mille fundi jugera,
  Et Appiam mannis terit;
Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques, 15
  Othone contempto, sedet.
Quid attinet tot ora navium gravi
  Rostrata duci pondere
Contra latrones atque servilem manum,
  Hoc, hoc tribuno militum? 20

V. (M. I.)

IN CANIDIAM VENEFICAM.

At, O deorum quicquid in cælo regit
  Terras et humanum genus!
Quid iste fert tumultus? et quid omnium
  Vultus in unum me truces?
Per liberos te, si vocata partubus 5
  Lucina veris affuit,
Per hoc inane purpuræ decus precor,
  Per improbaturum hæc Jovem,
Quid ut noverca me intueris, aut uti
  Petita ferro belua? 10
Ut hæc tremente questus ore constitit
  Insignibus raptis puer,
Impube corpus, quale posset impia
  Mollire Thracum pectora;
Canidia brevibus implicata viperis 15
  Crines et incomtum caput,
Jubet sepulchris caprificos erutas,
  Jubet cupressus funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova ranæ sanguine,
  Plumamque nocturnæ strigis, 20
Herbasque quas Iolcos atque Iberia
  Mittit, venenorum ferax,
Et ossa ab ore rapta jejunæ canis,
  Flammis aduri Colchicis.
At expedita Sagana, per totam domum 25
  Spargens Avernales aquas,
Horret capillis ut marinus asperis
  Echinus, aut currens aper.
Abacta nulla Veia conscientia,
  Ligonibus duris humum 30
Exhauriebat, ingemens laboribus;

Quo posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terque mutatæ dapis
Inemori spectaculo,
Cum promineret ore, quantum exstant aqua 35
Suspensa mento corpora;
Exusta uti medulla, et aridum jecur
Amoris esset poculum,
Interminato cum semel fixæ cibo
Intabuissent pupulæ. 40
Non defuisse masculæ libidinis
Ariminensem Foliam,
Et otiosa credidit Neapolis,
Et omne vicinum oppidum:
Quæ sidera excantata voce Thessala, 45
Lunamque cælo deripit.
Hic irresectum sæva dente livido
Canidia rodens pollicem,
Quid dixit? aut quid tacuit? O rebus meis
Non infideles arbitræ, 50
Nox, et Diana quæ silentium regis,
Arcana cum fiunt sacra;
Nunc nunc adeste: nunc in hostiles domos
Iram atque numen vertite:
Formidolosæ dum latent silvis feræ, 55
Dulci sopore languidæ;
Senem (quod omnes rideant) adulterum
Latrent Suburanæ canes,
Nardo perunctum, quale non perfectius
Meæ laborârint manus. 60
Quid accidit? cur dira barbaræ minus
Venena Medeæ valent?
Quibus superbam fugit ulta pellicem,
Magni Creontis filiam,
Cum palla, tabo munus imbutum, novam 65
Incendio nuptam abstulit.
Atqui nec herba nec latens in asperis

Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum. 70
Ah! ah! solutus ambulat veneficæ
Scientioris carmine.
Non usitatis Vare, potionibus
(O multa fleturum caput!)
Ad me recurres; nec vocata mens tua 75
Marsis redibit vocibus.
Majus parabo, majus infundam tibi
Fastidienti poculum.
Priusque cælum sidet inferius mari,
Tellure porrecta super, 80
Quam non amore sic meo flagres uti
Bitumen atris ignibus.
Sub hæc puer, jam non ut ante, mollibus
Lenire verbis impias;
Sed dubius unde rumperet silentium, 85
Misit Thyesteas preces.
Venena magnum fas nefasque, non valent
Convertere humanam vicem.
Diris agam vos: dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victima. 90
Quin, ubi perire jussus exspiravero,
Nocturnus occurram Furor,
Petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus,
(Quæ vis Deorum est Manium;)
Et inquietis assidens præcordiis, 95
Pavore somnos auferam.
Vos turba vicatim hinc et hinc saxis petens
Contundet, obscenas anus;
Post, insepulta membra different lupi,
Et Esquilinæ alites: 100
Neque hoc parentes (heu mihi superstites!)
Effugerit spectaculum.

VI. (M. I.)

IN CASSIUM SEVERUM.

Quid immerentes hospites vexas, canis,
Ignavus adversum lupos?
Quin huc inanes, si potes, vertis minas,
Et me remorsurum petis?
Nam, qualis aut Molossus, aut fulvus Lacon, 5
(Amica vis pastoribus,)
Agam per altas aure sublata nives,
Quæcunque præcedet fera.
Tu cum timenda voce complêsti nemus,
Projectum odoraris cibum. 10
Cave, cave: namque in malos asperrimus
Parata tollo cornua;
Qualis Lycambæ spretus infido gener,
Aut acer hostis Bupalo.
An, siquis atro dente me petiverit, 15
Inultus ut flebo puer?

VII. (M. I.)

AD POPULUM ROMANUM.

Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
Aptantur enses conditi?
Parumne campis atque Neptuno super
Fusum est Latini sanguinis?
Non ut superbas invidæ Carthaginis 5
Romanus arces ureret;
Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via:
Sed ut, secundum vota Parthorum, sua
Urbs hæc periret dextera. 10

Neque hic lupis mos, nec fuit leonibus,
Nunquam nisi in dispar feris.
Furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior?
An culpa? responsum date.
Tacent; et ora pallor albus inficit; 15
Mentesque perculsæ stupent.
Sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt,
Scelusque fraternæ necis;
Ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi
Sacer nepotibus cruor. 20

VIII. (M. I.)

IN ANUM LIBIDINOSAM.

ROGARE longo putidam te sæculo,
Vires quid enervet meas!
Cum sit tibi dens ater, et rugis vetus
Frontem senectus exaret;
Hietque turpis inter aridas nates 5
Podex, velut crudæ bovis.
Sed incitat me pectus, et mammæ putres,
Equina quales ubera;
Venterque mollis, et femur tumentibus
Exile suris additum. 10
Esto beata: funus atque imagines
Ducant triumphales tuum;
Nec sit marita quæ rotundioribus
Onusta baccis ambulet.
Quid? quod libelli Stoici inter Sericos 15
Jacere pulvillos amant?
Illiterati num minus nervi rigent?
Minusve languet fascinum?
Quod ut superbo provoces ab inguine,
Ore adlaborandum est tibi. 20

IX. (M. I).

AD MÆCENATEM.

QUANDO repostum Cæcubum ad festas dapes,
Victore lætus Cæsare,
Tecum sub alta (sic Jovi gratum) domo,
Beate Mæcenas, bibam,
Sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra, 5
Hac Dorium, illis Barbarum?
Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
Dux fugit, ustis navibus,
Minatus urbi vincla, quæ detraxerat
Servis amicus perfidis. 10
Romanus, eheu! (posteri negabitis)
Emancipatus fœminæ,
Fert vallum et arma miles, et spadonibus
Servire rugosis potest;
Interque signa turpe militaria 15
Sol aspicit conopium.
Ad hoc frementes verterunt bis mille equos
Galli canentes Cæsarem;
Hostiliumque navium portu latent
Puppes sinistrorsum citæ. 20
Io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos
Currus, et intactas boves:
Io triumphe, nec Jugurthino parem
Bello reportâsti ducem;
Neque Africano, cui super Carthaginem 25
Virtus sepulchrum condidit.
Terra marique victus hostis, Punico
Lugubre mutavit sagum;
Aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus,
Ventis iturus non suis; 30
Exercitatas aut petit Syrtes Noto;

Aut fertur incerto mari.
Capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos,
Et Chia vina, aut Lesbia ;
Vel, quod fluentem nauseam coerceat, 35
Metire nobis Cæcubum.
Curam metumque Cæsaris rerum juvat
Dulci Lyæo solvere.

X. (M. I.)

IN MÆVIUM.

MALA soluta navis exit alite,
Ferens olentem Mævium.
Ut horridis utrumque verberes latus,
Auster, memento fluctibus;
Niger rudentes Eurus, inverso mari, 5
Fractosque remos differat;
Insurgat Aquilo, quantus altis montibus
Frangit trementes ilices ;
Nec sidus atra nocte amicum appareat,
Qua tristis Orion cadit : 10
Quietiore nec feratur æquore,
Quam Graia victorum manus;
Cum Pallas usto vertit iram ab Ilio
In impiam Ajacis ratem.
O quantus instat navitis sudor tuis, 15
Tibique pallor luteus,
Et illa non virilis ejulatio,
Preces et aversum ad Jovem ;
Ionius udo cum remugiens sinus
Noto carinam ruperit ! 20
Opima quod si præda curvo littore
Porrecta mergos juveris;
Libidinosus immolabitur caper,
Et agna Tempestatibus.

XI. (METRUM II.)

AD PETTIUM.

PETTI, nihil me, sicut antea, juvat
  Scribere versiculos amore perculsum gravi;
Amore, qui me præter omnes expetit
  Mollibus in pueris aut in puellis urere.
Hic tertius December, ex quo destiti 5
  Inachia furere, sylvis honorem decutit.
Heu! me, per urbem (nam pudet tanti mali)
  Fabula quanta fui! conviviorum et pœnitet,
In queis amantem et languor et silentium
  Arguit, et latere petitus imo spiritus. 10
Contrane lucrum nil valere candidum
  Pauperis ingenium! querebar adplorans tibi;
Simul calentis inverecundus deus
  Fervidiora mero arcana promôrat loco.
Quod si meis inæstuat præcordiis 15
  Libera bilis, ut hæc ingrata ventis dividat
Fomenta, vulnus nil malum levantia;
  Desinet imparibus certare summotus pudor.
Ubi hæc severus te palam laudaveram,
  Jussus abire domum, ferebar incerto pede 20
Ad non amicos (heu!) mihi postes, et (heu!)
  Limina dura, quibus lumbos et infregi latus.
Nunc, gloriantis quamlibet mulierculam
  Vincere mollitia, amor Lycisci me tenet;
Unde expedire non amicorum queant 25
  Libera consilia, nec contumeliæ graves;
Sed alius ardor aut puellæ candidæ,
  Aut teretis pueri, longam renodantis comam.

XII. (METRUM III.)

QUID tibi vis, mulier nigris dignissima barris?
  Munera cur mihi, quidve tabellas
Mittis, nec firmo juveni, neque naris obesæ?
  Namque sagacius unus odoror,
Polypus, an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis, 5
  Quam canis acer ubi lateat sus.
Quis sudor vietis, et quam malus undique membris
  Crescit odor! cum pene soluto
Indomitam properat rabiem sedare; nec illi
  Jam manet humida creta, colorque 10
Stercore fucatus crocodili; jamque subando
  Tenta cubilia tectaque rumpit;
Vel mea cum sævis agitat fastidia verbis;
  Inachia langues minus, ac me:
Inachiam ter nocte potes; mihi semper ad unum 15
  Mollis opus: pereat male quæ te
Lesbia, quærenti taurum, monstravit inertem;
  Cum mihi Cous adesset Amyntas,
Cujus in indomito constantior inguine nervus,
  Quam nova collibus arbor inhæret. 20
Muricibus Tyriis iteratæ vellera lanæ
  Cui properabantur? Tibi nempe:
Ne foret æquales inter conviva, magis quem
  Diligeret mulier sua quam te.
O ego infelix, quam tu fugis, ut pavet acres 25
  Agna lupos, capreæque leones.

XIII. (METRUM IV.)

AD AMICUM.

HORRIDA tempestas cælum contraxit, et imbres
  Nivesque deducunt Jovem; nunc mare, nunc siluæ

Threïcio Aquilone sonant; rapiamus, amice,
Occasionem de die; dumque virent genua,
Et decet, obducta solvatur fronte senectus. 5
Tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo.
Cætera mitte loqui: Deus hæc fortasse benigna
Reducet in sedem vice. Nunc et Achæmenio
Perfundi nardo juvat, et fide Cyllenea
Levare diris pectora solicitudinibus: 10
Nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno;
Invicte, mortalis dea nate puer Thetide,
Te manet Assaraci tellus, quam frigida parvi
Findunt Scamandri flumina, lubricus et Simoïs;
Unde tibi reditum certo subtemine Parcæ 15
Rupere; nec mater domum cœrula te revehet.
Illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
Deformis ægrimoniæ dulcibus alloquiis.

XIV. (METRUM V.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

MOLLIS inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis
Oblivionem sensibus,
Pocula Letheos ut si ducentia somnos
Arente fauce traxerim,
Candide Mæcenas, occidis sæpe rogando: 5
Deus, Deus nam me vetat,
Inceptos, olim promissum carmen, Iambos
Ad umbilicum adducere.
Non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
Anacreonta Teium; 10
Qui persæpe cava testudine flevit amorem,
Non elaboratum ad pedem.

Ureris ipse miser: quod si non pulchrior ignis
Accendit obsessam Ilion,
Gaude sorte tua; me libertina, neque uno 15
Contenta, Phryne macerat.

XV. (M. V.)

AD NEÆRAM.

Nox erat, et cœlo fulgebat luna sereno
Inter minora sidera,
Cum tu, magnorum numen læsura Deorum,
In verba jurabas mea,
Arctius atque hedera procera astringitur ilex 5
Lentis adhærens brachiis;
Dum pecori lupus, et nautis infestus Orion
Turbaret hibernum mare,
Intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos,
Fore hunc amorem mutuum. 10
O dolitura mea multum virtute Neæra:
Nam siquid in Flacco viri est,
Non feret assiduas potiori te dare noctes,
Et quæret iratus parem;
Nec semel offensæ cedet constantia formæ, 15
Si certus intrârit dolor.
At tu, quicunque es felicior, atque meo nunc
Superbus incedis malo,
Sis pecore et multa dives tellure licebit,
Tibique Pactolus fluat, 20
Nec te Pythagoræ fallant arcana renati,
Formaque vincas Nirea;
Eheu! translatos alio mœrebis amores:
Ast ego vicissim risero.

XVI. (METRUM VI.)

AD POPULUM ROMANUM.

ALTERA jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas,
Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.
Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi,
Minacis aut Etrusca Porsenæ manus,
Æmula nec virtus Capuæ, nec Spartacus acer, 5
Novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox;
Nec fera cœrulea domuit Germania pube,
Parentibusque abominatus Annibal;—
Impia perdemus devoti sanguinis ætas;
Ferisque rursus occupabitur solum. 10
Barbarus, heu! cineres insistet victor, et urbem
Eques sonante verberabit ungula;
Quæque carent ventis et solibus, ossa Quirini
(Nefas videre) dissipabit insolens.
Forte, quid expediat, communiter, aut melior pars, 15
Malis carere quæritis laboribus.
Nulla sit hac potior sententia: Phocæorum
Velut profugit exsecrata civitas
Agros atque Lares patrios, habitandaque fana
Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis; 20
Ire pedes quocunque ferent, quocunque per undas
Notus vocabit, aut protervus Africus.
Sic placet? an melius quis habet suadere? secunda
Ratem occupare quid moramur alite?
Sed juremus in hæc: Simul imis saxa renârint 25
Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas,
Neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
In mare seu celsus procurrerit Appenninus,
Novaque monstra junxerit libidine 30
Mirus amor, juvet ut tigres subsidere cervis,
Adulteretur et columba miluo,

Credula nec ravos timeant armenta leones,
   Ametque salsa levis hircus æquora.
Hæc, et quæ poterunt reditus abscindere dulces, 35
   Eamus omnis exsecrata civitas,
Aut pars indocili melior grege; mollis et exspes
   Inominata perprimat cubilia.
Vos, quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum,
   Etrusca præter et volate littora. 40
Nos manet oceanus circumvagus: arva, beata
   Petamus arva, divites et insulas;
Reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis,
   Et imputata floret usque vinea,
Germinat et nunquam-fallentis termes olivæ, 45
   Suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem,
Mella cava manant ex ilice, montibus altis
   Levis crepante lympha desilit pede.
Illic injussæ veniunt ad mulctra capellæ,
   Refertque tenta grex amicus ubera; 50
Nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovili,
   Nec intumescit alta viperis humus:
Pluraque felices mirabimur; ut neque largis
   Aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,
Pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glebis, 55
   Utrumque rege temperante cœlitum.
Non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus,
   Neque impudica Colchis intulit pedem:
Non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautæ,
   Laboriosa nec cohors Ulyssei: 60
[Nulla nocent pecori contagia, nullius astri
   Gregem æstuosa torret impotentia.]
Jupiter illa piæ secrevit littora genti,
   Ut inquinavit ære tempus aureum:
Ære, dehinc ferro duravit sæcula; quorum 65
   Piis secunda vate me datur fuga.

XVII. (METRUM VII.)

AD CANIDIAM.

HORATIUS.

JAM jam efficaci do manus scientiæ
Supplex, et oro regna per Proserpinæ,
Per et Dianæ non movenda numina,
Per atque libros carminum valentium
Defixa cœlo devocare sidera, 5
Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris,
Citumque retro solve, solve, turbinem.
Movit nepotem Telephus Nereium,
In quem superbus ordinârat agmina
Mysorum, et in quem tela acuta torserat. 10
Luxere matres Iliæ addictum feris
Alitibus, atque canibus homicidam Hectorem;
Postquam relictis mœnibus rex procidit
Heu! pervicacis ad pedes Achillei.
Setosa duris exuere pellibus 15
Laboriosi remiges Ulyssei,
Volente Circa, membra; tunc mens, et sonus
Relapsus, atque notus in vultus honor.
Dedi satis superque pœnarum tibi,
Amata nautis multum et institoribus. 20
Fugit juventas, et verecundus color
Reliquit ossa pelle amicta lurida;
Tuis capillus albus est odoribus,
Nullum a labore me reclinat otium:
Urguet diem nox, et dies noctem, neque est 25
Levare tenta spiritu præcordia.
Ergo negatum vincor ut credam miser,
Sabella pectus increpare carmina,
Caputque Marsa dissilire nænia.
Quid amplius vis? O mare et terra! ardeo, 30
Quantum neque atro delibutus Hercules

Nessi cruore, nec Sicana fervida
Urens in Ætna flamma. Tu, donec cinis
Injuriosis aridus ventis ferar,
Cales venenis officina Colchicis. 35
Quæ finis? aut quod me manet stipendium?
Effare: jussas cum fide pœnas luam,
Paratus expiare, seu poposceris
Centum juvencos, sive mendaci lyra
Voles sonari: tu pudica, tu proba, 40
Perambulabis astra sidus aureum.
Infamis Helenæ Castor offensus vice,
Fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,
Ademta vati reddidere lumina.
Et tu (potes nam) solve me dementia, 45
O nec paternis obsoleta sordibus,
Nec in sepulchris pauperum prudens anus
Novendiales dissipare pulveres.
Tibi hospitale pectus, et puræ manus;
Tuusque venter Pactumeius; et tuo 50
Cruore rubros obstetrix pannos lavit,
Utcunque fortis exsilis puerpera.

CANIDIA.

Quid obseratis auribus fundis preces?
Non saxa nudis surdiora navitis
Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo. 55
Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia
Vulgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis?
Et Esquilini Pontifex venefici
Impune ut urbem nomine impleris meo?
Quid proderat ditâsse Pelignas anus, 60
Velociusve miscuisse toxicum?
Sed tardiora fata te votis manent:
Ingrata misero vita ducenda est, in hoc,
Novis ut usque suppetas laboribus.
Optat quietem Pelopis infidus pater, 65

Egens benignæ Tantalus semper dapis;
Optat Prometheus obligatus aliti;
Optat supremo collocare Sisyphus
In monte saxum; sed vetant leges Jovis.
Voles modo altis desilire turribus, 70
Modo ense pectus Norico recludere;
Frustraque vincla gutturi nectes tuo,
Fastidiosa tristis ægrimonia.
Vectabor humeris tunc ego inimicis eques;
Meæque terra cedet insolentiæ. 75
An, quæ movere cereas imagines,
Ut ipse nôsti curiosus, et polo
Deripere Lunam vocibus possim meis,
Possim crematos excitare mortuos,
Desiderîque temperare poculum,— 80
Plorem artis in te nil valentis exitum?

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

ODE I. (METRUM XIV.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

MÆCENAS atavis edite regibus,
O et præsidium, et dulce decus meum,
Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse juvat; metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis 5
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.
Hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium
Certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;
Illum, si proprio condidit horreo,
Quidquid de Libycis verritur areis; 10
Gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
Agros, Attalicis conditionibus
Nunquam dimoveas, ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.
Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum 15
Mercator metuens, otium et oppidi
Laudat rura sui: mox reficit rates
Quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.
Est qui nec veteris pocula Massici,
Nec partem solido demere dc die 20
Spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
Stratus, nunc ad aquæ lene caput sacræ.
Multos castra juvant, et lituo tubæ
Permistus sonitus, bellaque matribus
Detestata. Manet sub Jove frigido 25

Venator, teneræ conjugis immemor;
Seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus,
Seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.
Te doctarum hederæ præmia frontium
Diis miscent superis: me gelidum nemus, 30
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
Secernunt populo; si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet, nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
Quod si me lyricis vatibus inseris, 35
Sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

ODE II. (METRUM XVIII.)

AD AUGUSTUM CÆSAREM.

JAM satis terris nivis atque diræ
Grandinis misit Pater, et rubente
Dextera sacras jaculatus arces,
Terruit urbem:
Terruit gentes, grave ne rediret 5
Seculum Pyrrhæ, nova monstra questæ;
Omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
Visere montes;
Piscium et summa genus hæsit ulmo,
Nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis; 10
Et superjecto pavidæ natarunt
Æquore damæ.
Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta regis, 15
Templaque Vestæ:
Iliæ dum se nimium querenti
Jactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
Labitur ripa (Jove non probante) u-
xorius amnis. 20

Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Persæ melius perirent;
Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
Rara juventus.
Quem vocet Divûm populus ruentis 25
Imperî rebus? prece qua fatigent
Virgines sanctæ minus audientem
Carmina Vestam?
Cui dabit partes scelus expiandi
Jupiter? tandem venias, precamur, 30
Nube candentes humeros amictus
Augur Apollo:
Sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
Quam Jocus circumvolat, et Cupido:
Sive neglectum genus et nepotes 35
Respicis auctor,
Heu nimis longo satiate ludo;
Quem juvat clamor, galeæque leves,
Acer et Marsi peditis cruentum
Vultus in hostem. 40
Sive mutata juvenem figura
Ales in terris imitarís, almæ
Filius Maiæ, patiens vocari
Cæsaris ultor:
Serus in cœlum redeas, diuque 45
Lætus intersis populo Quirini;
Neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
Ocior aura
Tollat: Hic magnos potius triumphos,
Hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps: 50
Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos,
Te duce, Cæsar.

ODE III. (METRUM XV.)

AD NAVEM QUA VEHEBATUR VIRGILIUS ATHENAS PROFICISCENS.

SIC te, diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera,
Ventorumque regat pater,
Obstrictis aliis, præter Iapyga;
Navis, quæ tibi creditum 5
Debes Virgilium, finibus Atticis
Reddas incolumem, precor,
Et serves animæ dimidium meæ.
Illi robur et æs triplex
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci 10
Commisit pelago ratem
Primus, nec timuit præcipitem Africum
Decertantem Aquilonibus,
Nec tristes Hyadas, nec rabiem Noti;
Quo non arbiter Adriæ 15
Major, tollere seu ponere vult freta.
Quem mortis timuit gradum,
Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,
Qui vidit mare turbidum, et
Infames scopulos, Acroceraunia? 20
Nequicquam Deus abscidit
Prudens Oceano dissociabili
Terras, si tamen impiæ
Non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.
AUDAX omnia perpeti 25
Gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas.
Audax Iapeti genus
Ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit:
Post ignem ætheria domo
Subductum, macies et nova febrium 30
Terris incubuit cohors;

Semotique prius tarda necessitas
Leti corripuit gradum.
Expertus vacuum Dædalus aera
Pennis non homini datis: 35
Perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.
Nil mortalibus arduum est:
Cœlum ipsum petimus stultitia; neque
Per nostrum patimur scelus
Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina. 40

ODE IV. (METRUM VIII.)

AD SESTIUM.

SOLVITUR acris hiems grata vice veris et Favonî
Trahuntque siccas machinæ carinas;
Ac neque jam stabulis gaudet pecus, aut arator igni;
Nec prata canis albicant pruinis.
Jam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, imminente Lunâ; 5
Junctæque Nymphis Gratiæ decentes
Alterno terram quatiunt pede; dum graves Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.
Nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto,
Aut flore, terræ quem ferunt solutæ. 10
Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
Seu poscat agna, sive malit hædo.
PALLIDA mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas,
Regumque turres. O beate Sesti,
Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam. 15
Jam te premet nox, fabulæque Manes,
Et domus exilis Plutonia; quo simul meâris,
Nec regna vini sortiere talis;
Nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet juventus
Nunc omnis, et mox virgines tepebunt. 20

ODE V. (METRUM XVII.)

AD PYRRHAM.

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
Perfusus liquidis urguet odoribus
Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
Cui flavam religas comam
Simplex munditiis? Heu quoties fidem 5
Mutatosque deos flebit, et aspera
Nigris æquora ventis
Emirabitur insolens,
Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea;
Qui semper vacuam, semper amabilem 10
Sperat, nescius auræ
Fallacis! Miseri quibus
Intentata nites. Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvida
Suspendisse potenti 15
Vestimenta maris Deo.

ODE VI. (METRUM XVI.)

AD AGRIPPAM.

Scriberis Vario fortis, et hostium
Victor, Mæonii carminis aliti,
Quam rem cunque ferox navibus aut equis
Miles te duce gesserit.
Nos, Agrippa, neque hæc dicere, nec gravem 5
Pelidæ stomachum, cedere nescii,
Nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulyssei,
Nec sævam Pelopis domum,
Conamur, tenues grandia; dum pudor,
Imbellisque lyræ Musa potens vetat 10
Laudes egregii Cæsaris et tuas
Culpa deterere ingenî.

Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
Digne scripserit? aut pulvere Troico
Nigrum Merionen? aut ope Palladis 15
Tydiden superis parem?
Nos convivia, nos prælia virginum,
Strictis in juvenes unguibus acrium,
Cantamus, vacui, sive quid urimur,
Non præter solitum leves. 20

VII. (METRUM III.)

AD MUNATIUM PLANCUM.

LAUDABUNT alii claram Rhodon, aut Mytilenen,
Aut Ephesum, bimarisve Corinthi
Mœnia, vel Baccho Thebas vel Apolline Delphos
Insignes, aut Thessala Tempe.
Sunt quibus unum opus est, intactæ Palladis urbem 5
Carmine perpetuo celebrare, et
Undique decerptam fronti præponere olivam:
Plurimus in Junonis honorem
Aptum dicit equis Argos, ditesque Mycenas.
Me neque tam patiens Lacedæmon, 10
Nec tam Larissæ percussit campus opimæ,
Quam domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et præceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis.
Albus ut obscuro deterget nubila cœlo 15
Sæpe Notus, neque parturit imbres
Perpetuos; sic tu sapiens finire memento
Tristitiam vitæque labores
Molli, Plance, mero; seu te fulgentia signis
Castra tenent, seu densa tenebit 20
Tiburis umbra tui. Teucer Salamina patremque
Cum fugeret, tamen uda Lyæo
Tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona,
Sic tristes affatus amicos;

Quo nos cunque feret melior fortuna parente, 25
Ibimus, O socii comitesque,
Nil desperandum Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro:
Certus enim promisit Apollo
Ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.
O fortes, pejoraque passi 30
Mecum sæpe viri, nunc vino pellite curas:
Cras ingens iterabimus æquor.

ODE VIII. (METRUM X.)

AD LYDIAM.

LYDIA dic, per omnes
Te Deos oro, Sybarim cur properes amando
Perdere; cur apricum
Oderit campum patiens pulveris atque solis.
Cur neque militaris 5
Inter æquales equitat, Gallica nec lupatis
Temperat ora frænis?
Cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? cur olivum
Sanguine viperino
Cautius vitat? neque jam livida gestat armis 10
Brachia, sæpe disco,
Sæpe trans finem jaculo nobilis expedito?
Quid latet, ut marinæ
Filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrymosa Trojæ
Funera, ne virilis 15
Cultus in cædem et Lycias proriperet catervas?

ODE IX. (METRUM XIX.)

AD THALIARCHUM.

VIDES ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec jam sustineant onus
Sylvæ laborantes, geluque
Flumina constiterint acuto?

Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco 5
Large reponens; atque benignius
Deprome quadrimum Sabina,
O Thaliarche, merum diota.
Permitte Divis cætera; qui simul
Stravere ventos æquore fervido 10
Deprœliantes, nec cupressi,
Nec veteres agitantur orni.
QUID sit futurum cras, fuge quærere; et
Quem sors dierum cunque dabit, lucro
Adpone; nec dulces amores 15
Sperne puer, neque tu choreas,
Donec virenti canities abest
Morosa. Nunc et campus, et areæ,
Lenesque sub noctem susurri
Composita repetantur hora: 20
Nunc et latentis proditor intimo
Gratus puellæ risus ab angulo,
Pignusque dereptum lacertis
Aut digito male pertinaci.

ODE X. (M. XVIII.)

AD MERCURIUM.

MERCURI, facunde, nepos Atlantis,
Qui feros cultus hominum recentum
Voce formâsti catus, et decoræ
More palæstræ:
Te canam, magni Jovis et Deorum 5
Nuntium, curvæque lyræ parentem;
Callidum quicquid placuit, jocoso
Condere furto.
Te boves olim nisi reddidisses
Per dolum amotas, puerum minaci 10
Voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
Risit Apollo.

Quin et Atridas, duce te, superbos
Ilio dives Priamus relicto,
Thessalosque ignes et iniqua Trojæ 15
Castra fefellit.
Tu pias lætis animas reponis
Sedibus, virgaque levem coerces
Aurea turbam, superis Deorum
Gratus et imis. 20

ODE XI. (METRUM XIII.)

AD LEUCONOEN.

Tu ne quæsieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
Finem Dii dederint, Leuconoe; nec Babylonios
Tentâris numeros. Ut melius quicquid erit pati,
Seu plures hiemes, seu tribuit Jupiter ultimam,
Quæ nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare 5
Tyrrhenum. Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces: dum loquimur, fugerit invida
Ætas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.

ODE XII. (M. XVIII.)

AD AUGUSTUM.

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
Tibia sumis celebrare, Clio?
Quem Deum? cujus recinet jocosa
Nomen imago,
Aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris, 5
Aut super Pindo, gelidove in Hæmo?
Unde vocalem temere insecutæ
Orphea silvæ,
Arte materna rapidos morantem
Fluminum lapsus celeresque ventos, 10
Blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
Ducere quercus.

Quid prius dicam solitis Parentis
Laudibus? qui res hominum ac Deorum,
Qui mare et terras, variisque mundum 15
Temperat horis:
Unde nil majus generatur ipso,
Nec viget quidquam simile, aut secundum:
Proximos illi tamen occupavit
Pallas honores. 20
Prœliis audax, neque te silebo,
Liber, et sævis inimica virgo
Beluis; nec te metuende certa
Phœbe sagitta.
Dicam et Alciden; puerosque Ledæ, 25
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
Nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis
Stella refulsit,
Defluit saxis agitatus humor;
Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes, 30
Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto
Unda recumbit.
Romulum post hos prius, an quietum
Pompilî regnum memorem, an superbos
Tarquinî fasces, dubito, an Catonis 35
Nobile letum.
Regulum, et Scauros, animæque magnæ
Prodigum, Pœno superante, Paulum,
Gratus insigni referam Camena,
Fabriciumque. 40
Hunc, et incomtis Curium capillis
Utilem bello tulit, et Camillum
Sæva paupertas, et avitus apto
Cum lare fundus.
Crescit, occulto velut arbor ævo, 45
Fama Marcelli: micat inter omnes
Julium sidus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores.

Gentis humanæ pater atque custos,
Orte Saturno, tibi cura magni 50
Cæsaris fatis data: tu secundo
Cæsare regnes.
Ille, seu Parthos Latio imminentes
Egerit justo domitos triumpho,
Sive subjectos Orientis oræ 55
Seras et Indos,
Te minor latum reget æquus orbem:
Tu gravi curru quaties Olympum;
Tu parum castis inimica mittes
Fulmina lucis. 60

ODE XIII. (M. XV.)

AD LYDIAM.

CUM tu, Lydia, Telephi
Cervicem roseam, cerea Telephi
Laudas brachia, Væ! meum
Fervens difficili bile tumet jecur.
Tunc nec mens mihi, nec color 5
Certa sede manet; humor et in genas
Furtim labitur, arguens
Quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.
Uror, seu tibi candidos
Turpârunt humeros immodicæ mero 10
Rixæ; sive puer furens
Impressit memorem dente labris notam.
Non, si me satis audias,
Speres perpetuum, dulcia barbare
Lædentem oscula, quæ Venus 15
Quinta parte sui nectaris imbuit.

Felices ter et amplius
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
Divulsus querimoniis
Suprema citius solvet amor die. 20

ODE XIV. (M. XVII.)

AD REMPUBLICAM.

O Navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus? O quid agis? fortiter occupa
Portum: nonne vides, ut
Nudum remigio latus,
Et malus celeri saucius Africo, 5
Antennæque gemant, ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinæ
Possint imperiosius
Æquor? non tibi sunt integra lintea,
Non Dii, quos iterum pressa voces malo. 10
Quamvis Pontica pinus,
Silvæ filia nobilis,
Jactes et genus et nomen inutile;
Nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
Fidit: tu, nisi ventis 15
Debes ludibrium, cave.
Nuper solicitum quæ mihi tædium,
Nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
Interfusa nitentes
Vites æquora Cycladas. 20

ODE XV. (M. XVI.)

NEREI VATICINIUM DE EXCIDIO TROJÆ.

Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus
Idæis Helenam perfidus hospitam,

Ingrato celeres obruit otio
 Ventos, ut caneret fera
Nereus fata. Mala ducis avi domum, 5
Quam multo repetet Græcia milite,
Conjurata tuas rumpere nuptias,
 Et regnum Priami vetus.
Eheu quantus equis, quantus adest viris
Sudor! quanta moves funera Dardanæ 10
Genti! jam galeam Pallas et ægida
 Currusque et rabiem parat.
Nequicquam, Veneris præsidio ferox,
Pectes cæsariem, grataque fœminis
Imbelli cithara carmina divides: 15
 Nequicquam thalamo graves
Hastas et calami spicula Cnossii
Vitabis, strepitumque, et celerem sequi
Ajacem. Tamen heu! serus adulteros
 Crines pulvere collines. 20
Non Laertiaden, exitium tuæ
Gentis, non Pylium Nestora respicis?
Urguent impavidi te Salaminius
 Teucer, te Sthenelus sciens
Pugnæ, sive opus est imperitare equis, 25
Non auriga piger. Merionen quoque
Nosces: ecce furit te reperire atrox
 Tydides, melior patre:
Quem tu, cervus uti vallis in altera
Visum parte lupum graminis immemor, 30
Sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
 Non hoc pollicitus tuæ.
Iracunda diem proferet Ilio
Matronisque Phrygum classis Achillei.
Post certas hyemes uret Achaicus 35
 Ignis Pergameas domos.

ODE XVI. (M. XIX.)

PALINODIA AD TYNDARIDEM.

O! Matre pulchra filia pulchrior,
Quem criminosis cunque voles modum
  Pones Iambis; sive flamma,
    Sive mari libet Hadriano.
Non Dindymene, non adytis quatit 5
Mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
  Non Liber æque; non acuta
    Sic geminant Corybantes æra,
Tristes ut iræ: quas neque Noricus
Deterret ensis, nec mare naufragum, 10
  Nec sævus ignis, nec tremendo
    Jupiter ipse ruens tumultu.
Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo coactus particulam undique
  Desectam, et insani leonis 15
    Vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.
Iræ Thyesten exitio gravi
Stravere, et altis urbibus ultimæ
  Stetere causæ, cur perirent
    Funditus, imprimeretque muris 20
Hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.
Compesce mentem; me quoque pectoris
  Tentavit in dulci juventa
    Fervor, et in celeres Iambos
Misit furentem: nunc ego mitibus 25
Mutare quæro tristia, dum mihi
  Fias recantatis amica
    Opprobriis, animumque reddas.

ODE XVII. (M. XIX.)

AD TYNDARIDEM.

VELOX amœnum sæpe Lucretilem
Mutat Lycæo Faunus, et igneam
Defendit æstatem capellis
Usque meis pluviosque ventos.
Impune tutum per nemus arbutos 5
Quærunt latentes et thyma deviæ
Olentis uxores mariti;
Nec virides metuunt colubras,
Nec martiales hæduleæ lupos;
Utcunque dulci, Tyndari, fistula 10
Valles, et Usticæ cubantis
Levia personuere saxa.
Dii me tuentur; Diis pietas mea
Et musa cordi est. Hic tibi copia
Manabit ad plenum benigno 15
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Hic in reducta valle caniculæ
Vitabis æstus, et fide Teïa
Dices laborantes in uno
Penelopen vitreamque Circen. 20
Hic innocentis pocula Lesbii
Duces sub umbra; nec Semeleïus
Cum Marte confundet Thyoneus
Prœlia; nec metues protervum
Suspecta Cyrum, ne male dispari 25
Incontinentes injiciat manus,
Et scindat hærentem coronam
Crinibus, immeritamque vestem.

ODE XVIII. (M. XIII.)

AD VARUM.

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
Circa mite solum Tiburis, et mœnia Catili.
Siccis omnia nam dura Deus proposuit; neque
Mordaces aliter diffugiunt solicitudines.
Quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat? 5
Quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque, decens Venus?
At ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
Debellata: monet Sithoniis non levis Evius;
Cum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum 10
Discernunt avidi. Non ego te, candide Bassareu,
Invitum quatiam; nec variis obsita frondibus
Sub divum rapiam: sæva tene cum Berecyntio
Cornu tympana, quæ subsequitur cæcus Amor sui,
Et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem, 15
Arcanique Fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro.

ODE XIX. (M. XV.)

DE GLYCERA.

Mater sæva Cupidinum,
  Thebanæque jubet me Semeles puer,
Et lasciva Licentia,
  Finitis animum reddere amoribus.
Urit me Glyceræ nitor 5
  Splendentis Pario marmore purius:
Urit grata protervitas,
  Et vultus nimium lubricus aspici.
In me tota ruens Venus
  Cyprum deseruit; nec patitur Scythas 10
Et versis animosum equis
  Parthum dicere, nec quæ nihil attinent.
Hic vivum mihi cespitem, hic

Verbenas, pueri, ponite, turaque
Bimi cum patera meri: 15
Mactata veniet lenior hostia.

ODE XX. (M. XVIII.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

VILE potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græca quod ego ipse testa
Conditum levi, datus in theatro
Cum tibi plausus,
Clare Mæcenas eques; ut paterni 5
Fluminis ripæ, simul et jocosa
Redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
Montis imago.
Cæcubum, et prælo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernæ 10
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles.

ODE XXI. (M. XVII.)

IN DIANAM ET APOLLINEM.

DIANAM teneræ dicite virgines,
Intonsum pueri dicite Cynthium,
Latonamque supremo
Dilectam penitus Jovi.
Vos lætam fluviis et nemorum coma, 5
Quæcunque aut gelido prominet Algido,
Nigris aut Erymanthi
Silvis, aut viridis Cragi:
Vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus;
Natalemque, mares, Delon Appollinis, 10

Insignemque pharetra
Fraternaque humerum lyra.
Hic bellum lacrymosum, hic miseram famem
Pestemque a populo et principe Cæsare in
Persas atque Britannos 15
Vestra motus aget prece.

ODE XXII. (M. XVIII.)

AD ARISTIUM FUSCUM.

INTEGER vitæ scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauri jaculis neque arcu
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fusce, pharetra;
Sive per Syrtes iter æstuosas, 5
Sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum, vel quæ loca fabulosus
Lambit Hydaspes.
Namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
Dum meam canto Lalagen, et ultra 10
Terminum curis vagor expeditus,
Fugit inermem:
Quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias latis alit esculetis,
Nec Jubæ tellus generat, leonum 15
Arida nutrix.
Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor æstiva recreatur aura,
Quod latus mundi nebulæ malusque
Jupiter urguet; 20
Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis, in terra domibus negata;
Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem.

ODE XXIII. (M. XVII.)

AD CHLOEN.

VITAS hinnuleo me similis, Chloe,
Quærenti pavidam montibus aviis
Matrem, non sine vano
Aurarum et silüæ metu.
Nam seu mobilibus vepris inhorruit 5
Ad ventum foliis, seu virides rubum
Dimovere lacertæ,
Et corde et genibus tremit.
Atqui non ego te, tigris ut aspera
Gætulusve leo, frangere persequor: 10
Tandem desine matrem
Tempestiva sequi viro.

ODE XXIV. (M. XVI.)

AD VIRGILIUM.

QUIS desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis? Præcipe lugubres
Cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam pater
Vocem cum cithara dedit.
Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus sopor 5
Urguet? cui Pudor, et Justitiæ soror
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
Quando ullum invenient parem?
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit;
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili. 10
Tu frustra pius, heu! non ita creditum
Poscis Quinctilium Deos.
Quod si Threïcio blandius Orpheo
Auditam moderere arboribus fidem;
Non vanæ redeat sanguis imagini, 15
Quam virga semel horrida,

Non lenis precibus fata recludere,
Nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi.
Durum: SED levius fit patientia,
Quicquid corrigere est nefas. 20

ODE XXV. (M. XVIII.)

AD LYDIAM.

PARCIUS junctas quatiunt fenestras
Ictibus crebris juvenes protervi,
Nec tibi somnos adimunt; amatque
Janua limen,
Quæ prius multum facilis movebat 5
Cardines: audis minus et minus jam,
Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
Lydia, dormis?
Invicem mœchos anus arrogantes
Flebis in solo levis angiportu, 10
Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
lunia vento:
Cum tibi flagrans amor, et libido
Quæ solet matres furiare equorum,
Sæviet circa jecur ulcerosum; 15
Non sine questu,
Læta quod pubes hedera virente
Gaudeat pulla magis atque myrto;
Aridas frondes Hyemis sodali
Dedicet Euro. 20

ODE XXVI. (M. XIX.)

DE ÆLIO LAMIA.

MUSIS amicus, tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis; queis sub Arcto
Rex gelidæ metuatur oræ,

Quid Tiridatem terreat, unice 5
Securus. O quæ fontibus integris
Gaudes, apricos necte flores,
Necte meo Lamiæ coronam,
Pimpleï dulcis: nil sine te mei
Possunt honores: hunc fidibus novis, 10
Hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
Teque tuasque decet sorores.

ODE XXVII. (M. XIX.)

AD SODALES.

NATIS in usum lætitiæ scyphis
Pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
Morem, verecundumque Bacchum
Sanguineis prohibete rixis.
Vino et lucernis Medus acinaces 5
Immane quantum discrepat! Impium
Lenite clamorem, sodales,
Et cubito remanete presso.
Vultis severi me quoque sumere
Partem Falerni? dicat Opuntiæ 10
Frater Megillæ, quo beatus
Vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.
Cessat voluntas? non alia bibam
Mercede. Quæ te cunque domat Venus,
Non erubescendis adurit 15
Ignibus; ingenuoque semper
Amore peccas: quicquid habes, age,
Depone tutis auribus. Ah! miser,
Quanta laborabas Charybdi,
Digne puer meliore flamma! 20
Quæ saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
Magus venenis, quis poterit Deus?
Vix illigatum te triformi
Pegasus expediet Chimæra.

ODE XXVIII. (M. III.)

ARCHYTAS.

maris et terræ numeroque carentis arenæ
  Mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
lveris exigui prope littus parva Matinum
  Munera: nec quidquam tibi prodest
erias tentâsse domos, animoque rotundum 5
  Percurrisse polum, morituro.
Occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva Deorum;
  Tithonusque remotus in auras,
Et Jovis arcanis Minos admissus: habentque
  Tartara Panthoiden, iterum Orco 10
Demissum; quamvis clypeo Trojana refixo
  Tempora testatus, nihil ultra
Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atræ;
  Judice te, non sordidus auctor
Naturæ verique. SED omnes una manet nox, 15
  Et calcanda semel via leti.
Dant alios Furiæ torvo spectacula Marti:
  Exitio est avidum mare nautis.
Mista senum ac juvenum densentur funera: nullum
  Sæva caput Proserpina fugit. 20
Me quoque devexi rapidus comes Orionis
  Illyricis Notus obruit undis.
At tu nauta, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ
  Ossibus et capiti inhumato
Particulam dare: sic, quodcunque minabitur Eurus 25
  Fluctibus Hesperiis, Venusinæ
Plectantur silvæ, te sospite; multaque merces,
  Unde potest, tibi defluat æquo
Ab Jove, Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti.
  Negligis immeritis nocituram 30
Postmodo te natis fraudem committere? Fors et
  Debita jura vicesque superbæ

Te maneant ipsum: precibus non linquar inultis;
Teque piacula nulla resolvent.
Quanquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit 35
Injecto ter pulvere curras.

ODE XXIX. (M. XIX.)

AD ICCIUM.

Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides
Gazis; et acrem militiam paras
Non ante devictis Sabææ
Regibus, horribilique Medo
Nectis catenas. Quæ tibi virginum 5
Sponso necato barbara serviet?
Puer quis ex aula capillis
Ad cyathum statuetur unctis,
Doctus sagittas tendere Sericas
Arcu paterno? quis neget arduis 10
Pronos relabi posse rivos
Montibus, et Tiberim reverti;
Cum tu coemtos undique nobiles
Libros Panætî, Socraticam et domum,
Mutare loricis Iberis, 15
Pollicitus meliora, tendis?

ODE XXX. (M. XVIII.)

AD VENEREM.

O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique,
Sperne dilectam Cypron, et vocantis
Ture te multo Glyceræ decoram
Transfer in ædem.
Fervidus tecum puer, et solutis 5
Gratiæ zonis, properentque Nymphæ,

Et parum comis sine te Juventas,
Mercuriusque.

ODE XXXI. (M. XIX.)

AD APOLLINEM.

Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem
Vates? quid orat, de patera novum
Fundens liquorem? non opimas
Sardiniæ segetes feracis;
Non æstuosæ grata Calabriæ 5
Armenta; non aurum, aut ebur Indicum;
Non rura quæ Liris quieta
Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.
Premant Calena falce, quibus dedit
Fortuna, vitem; dives et aureis 10
Mercator exsiccet culullis
Vina Syra reparata merce,
Diis carus ipsis; quippe ter et quater
Anno revisens æquor Atlanticum
Impune. Me pascunt olivæ, 15
Me cichorea levesque malvæ.
Frui paratis et valido mihi
Latoe dones, ac, precor, integra
Cum mente; nec turpem senectam
Degere, nec cithara carentem. 20

ODE XXXII. (M. XVIII.)

AD LYRAM.

Poscimur. Siquid vacui sub umbra
Lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum
Vivat et plures, age, dic Latinum,

Barbite, carmen,
Lesbio primum modulate civi; 5
Qui ferox bello, tamen inter arma,
Sive jactatam religârat udo
Littore navim,
Liberum et Musas, Veneremque et illi
Semper hærentem Puerum canebat, 10
Et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
Crine decorum.
O decus Phœbi, et dapibus supremi
Grata testudo Jovis, O laborum
Dulce lenimen, mihi cunque salve 15
Rite vocanti.

ODE XXXIII. (M. XVI.)

AD ALBIUM TIBULLUM.

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor
Immitis Glyceræ; neu miserabiles
Decantes elegos, cur tibi junior
Læsa præniteat fide.
Insignem tenui fronte Lycorida 5
Cyri torret amor; Cyrus in asperam
Declinat Pholoen: sed prius Appulis
Jungentur capreæ lupis,
Quam turpi Pholoe peccet adultero.
Sic visum Veneri; cui placet impares 10
Formas atque animos sub juga ahenea
Sævo mittere cum joco.
Ipsum me melior cum peteret Venus,
Grata detinuit compede Myrtale
Libertina, fretis acrior Adriæ 15
Curvantis Calabros sinus.

ODE XXXIV. (M. XIX.)

Parcus Deorum cultor et infrequens,
Insanientis dum sapientiæ
Consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
Vela dare, atque iterare cursus
Cogor relictos: namque Diespiter, 5
Igni corusco nubila dividens
Plerumque, per purum tonantes
Egit equos volucremque currum;
Quo bruta tellus, et vaga flumina,
Quo Styx, et invisi horrida Tænari 10
Sedes, Atlanteusque finis
Concutitur. Valet ima summis
Mutare et insignem attenuat Deus,
Obscura promens: hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto 15
Sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

ODE XXXV. (M. XIX.)

AD FORTUNAM.

O Diva gratum quæ regis Antium,
Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu
Mortale corpus, vel superbos
Vertere funeribus triumphos:
Te pauper ambit sollicita prece 5
Ruris colonus; te dominam æquoris,
Quicunque Bithyna lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carina.
Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,
Urbesque gentesque, et Latium ferox, 10
Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni,

Injurioso ne pede proruas
Stantem columnam; neu populus frequens
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma 15
Concitet, imperiumque frangat.
Te semper anteit sæva Necessitas,
Clavos trabales et cuneos manu
Gestans ahena; nec severus
Uncus abest, liquidumque plumbum. 20
Te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno; nec comitem abnegat,
Utcunque mutata potentes
Veste domos inimica linquis.
At vulgus infidum et meretrix retro 25
Perjura cedit: diffugiunt cadis
Cum fæce siccatis amici,
Ferre jugum pariter dolosi.
Serves iturum Cæsarem in ultimos
Orbis Britannos, et juvenum recens 30
Examen Eois timendum
Partibus, Oceanoque rubro.
Eheu! cicatricum et sceleris pudet
Fratrumque: quid nos dura refugimus
Ætas? quid intactum nefasti 35
Liquimus? unde manum juventus
Metu Deorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? O utinam nova
Incude diffingas retusum in
Massagetas Arabasque ferrum. 40

ODE XXXVI. (M. XV.)

DE PLOTIO NUMIDA.

Et ture et fidibus juvat
Placare, et vituli sanguine debito

Custodes Numidæ Deos;
  Qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima
Caris multa sodalibus, 5
  Nulli plura tamen dividit oscula
Quam dulci Lamiæ, memor
  Actæ non alio rege puertiæ,
Mutatæque simul togæ.
  Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota; 10
Neu promtæ modus amphoræ,
  Neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum;
Neu multi Damalis meri
  Bassum Threicia vincat amystide;
Neu desint epulis rosæ, 15
  Neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium.
Omnes in Damalin putres
  Deponent oculos; nec Damalis novo
Divelletur adultero,
  Lascivis hederis ambitiosior. 20

ODE XXXVII. (M. XIX.)

AD SODALES.

NUNC est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus; nunc Saliaribus
  Ornare pulvinar Deorum
    Tempus erat dapibus, sodales.
Antehac nefas depromere Cæcubum 5
Cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
  Regina dementes ruinas,
    Funus et imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum, quidlibet impotens 10
  Sperare, fortunaque dulci
    Ebria: sed minuit furorem

Vix una sospes navis ab ignibus;
Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
Redegit in veros timores 15
Cæsar, ab Italia volantem
Remis adurguens, (accipiter velut
Molles columbas, aut leporem citus
Venator in campis nivalis
Æmoniæ,) daret ut catenis 20
Fatale monstrum, quæ generosius
Perire quærens, nec muliebriter
Expavit ensem, nec latentes
Classe cita reparavit oras:
Ausa et jacentem visere regiam 25
Vultu sereno, fortis et asperas
Tractare serpentes, ut atrum
Corpore combiberet venenum,
Deliberata morte ferocior:
Sævis Liburnis scilicet invidens, 30
Privata deduci superbo
Non humilis mulier triumpho.

ODE XXXVIII. (M. XVIII.)

AD MINISTRUM.

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus:
Displicent nexæ philyra coronæ:
Mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
Sera moretur.
Simplici myrto nihil adlabores, 5
Sedulus curæ: neque te ministrum
Dedecet myrtus, neque me sub arcta
Vite bibentem.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

ODE I. (M. XIX.)

AD C. ASINIUM POLLIONEM.

Motum ex Metello consule civicum,
Bellique causas, et vitia et modos,
  Ludumque Fortunæ, gravesque
    Principum amicitias, et arma
Nondum expiatis unčta cruoribus, 5
Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ,
  Tractas; et incedis per ignes
    Suppositos cineri doloso.
Paulum severæ Musa Tragœdiæ
Desit theatris: mox, ubi publicas 10
  Res ordinâris, grande munus
    Cecropio repetes cothurno,
Insigne mœstis præsidium reis,
Et consulenti, Pollio, curiæ,
  Cui laurus æternos honores 15
    Dalmatico peperit triumpho.
Jam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
Perstringis aures, jam litui strepunt;
  Jam fulgor armorum fugaces
    Terret equos equitumque vultus. 20
Videre magnos jam videor duces
Non indecoro pulvere sordidos,
  Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
    Præter atrocem animum Catonis.

Juno, et Deorum quisquis amicior 25
Afris, inulta cesserat impotens
Tellure, victorum nepotes
Rettulit inferias Jugurthæ.
Quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
Campus sepulchris impia prœlia 30
Testatur, auditumque Medis
Hesperiæ sonitum ruinæ ?
Qui gurges, aut quæ flumina lugubris
Ignara belli ? quod mare Dauniæ
Non decoloravere cædes ? 35
Quæ caret ora cruore nostro ?
Sed ne relictis Musa procax jocis
Ceæ retractes munera næniæ ;
Mecum Dionæo sub antro
Quære modos leviore plectro. 40

ODE II. (M. XVIII.)

AD C. SALLUSTIUM CRISPUM.

NULLUS argento color est,—avaris
Abditæ terris inimice lamnæ,
Crispe Sallusti,—nisi temperato
Splendeat usu.
Vivet extento Proculeius ævo 5
Notus in fratres animi paterni :
Illum aget penna metuente solvi
Fama superstes.
Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis 10
Gadibus jungas, et uterque Pœnus
Serviat uni.
Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops ;
Nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi

Fugerit venis, et aquosus albo 15
Corpore languor.
Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten,
Dissidens plebi, numero beatorum
Eximit virtus; populumque falsis
Dedocet uti 20
Vocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
Deferens uni, propriamque laurum,
Quisquis ingentes oculo irretorto
Spectat acervos.

ODE III. (M. XIX.)

AD Q. DELLIUM.

ÆQUAM memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem, non secus in bonis
Ab insolenti temperatam
Lætitia, moriture Delli,
Seu mœstus omni tempore vixeris, 5
Seu te in remoto gramine per dies
Festos reclinatum beâris
Interiore nota Falerni.
Qua pinus ingens albaque populus
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant 10
Ramis, et obliquo laborat
Lympha fugax trepidare rivo;
Huc vina et unguenta et nimium breves
Flores amœnæ ferre jube rosæ,
Dum res et ætas et sororum 15
Fila trium patiuntur atra.
Cedes coemtis saltibus, et domo
Villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit:
Cedes; et exstructis in altum
Divitiis potietur hæres. 20

Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho
Nil interest, an pauper et infima
De gente sub divo moreris,
Victima nil miserantis Orci.
Omnes eodem cogimur: omnium 25
Versatur urna serius ocius
Sors exitura, et nos in æternum
Exsilium impositura cymbæ.

ODE IV. (M. XVIII.)

AD XANTHIAM PHOCEUM.

NE sit ancillæ tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoceu; prius insolentem
Serva Briseis niveo colore
Movit Achillem:
Movit Ajacem Telamone natum 5
Forma captivæ dominum Tecmessæ:
Arsit Atrides medio in triumpho
Virgine rapta;
Barbaræ postquam cecidere turmæ
Thessalo victore, et ademtus Hector 10
Tradidit fessis leviora tolli
Pergama Graiis.
Nescias an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavæ decorent parentes:
Regium certe genus, et penates 15
Mœret iniquos.
Crede non illam tibi de scelesta
Plebe dilectam; neque sic fidelem,
Sic lucro aversam potuisse nasci
Matre pudenda. 20
Brachia et vultum teretesque suras
Integer laudo: fuge suspicari,
Cujus octavum trepidavit ætas
Claudere lustrum.

ODE V. (M. XIX.)

NONDUM subacta ferre jugum valet
Cervice, nondum munia comparis
Æquare, nec tauri ruentis
In Venerem tolerare pondus.
Circa virentes est animus tuæ 5
Campos juvencæ, nunc fluviis gravem
Solantis æstum, nunc in udo
Ludere cum vitulis salicto
Prægestientis: tolle cupidinem
Immitis uvæ; jam tibi lividos 10
Distinguet autumnus racemos
Purpureo varius colore.
Jam te sequetur, (currit enim ferox
Ætas; et illi, quos tibi dempserit,
Apponet annos,) jam proterva 15
Fronte petet Lalage maritum;
Dilecta quantum non Pholoe fugax,
Non Chloris: albo sic humero nitens,
Ut pura nocturno renidet
Luna mari, Cnidiusve Gyges; 20
Quem si puellarum insereres choro,
Mira sagaces falleret hospites
Discrimen obscurum, solutis
Crinibus, ambiguoque vultu.

ODE VI. (M. XVIII.)

AD SEPTIMIUM.

SEPTIMI, Gades aditure mecum, et
Cantabrum indoctum juga ferre nostra, et
Barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura semper
Æstuat unda;
Tibur Argeo positum colono 5

Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ;
Sit modus lasso maris et viarum
Militiæque:
Unde si Parcæ prohibent iniquæ,
Dulce pellitis ovibus Galesi 10
Flumen et regnata petam Laconi
Rura Phalantho.
Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet; ubi non Hymetto
Mella decedunt, viridique certat 15
Bacca Venafro:
Ver ubi longum, tepidasque præbet
Jupiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
Invidet uvis. 20
Ille te mecum locus et beatæ
Postulant arces; ibi tu calentem
Debita sparges lacrima favillam
Vatis amici.

ODE VII. (M. XIX.)

AD POMPEIUM VARUM.

O SÆPE mecum tempus in ultimum
Deducte Bruto militiæ duce,
Quis te redonavit Quiritem
Diis patriis, Italoque cœlo,
Pompei, meorum prime sodalium? 5
Cum quo morantem sæpe diem mero
Fregi, coronatus nitentes
Malobathro Syrio capillos.
Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relicta non bene parmula, 10
Cum fracta virtus, et minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento.

Sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
Denso paventem sustulit aere:
Te rursus in bellum resorbens 15
Unda fretis tulit æstuosis.
Ergo obligatam redde Jovi dapem,
Longaque fessum militia latus
Depone sub lauru mea; nec
Parce cadis tibi destinatis. 20
Oblivioso levia Massico
Ciboria exple; funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis: quis udo
Deproperare apio coronas
Curatve myrto? quem Venus arbitrum 25
Dicet bibendi? non ego sanius
Bacchabor Edonis: recepto
Dulce mihi furere est amico.

ODE VIII. (M. XVIII.)

AD BARINEN.

Ulla si juris tibi pejerati
Pœna, Barine, nocuisset unquam,
Dente si nigro fieres, vel uno
Turpior ungui,
Crederem: sed tu, simul obligâsti 5
Perfidum votis caput, enitescis
Pulchrior multo, juvenumque prodis
Publica cura.
Expedit matris cineres opertos
Fallere, et toto taciturna noctis 10
Signa cum cœlo, gelidaque Divos
Morte carentes.
Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa; rident
Simplices Nymphæ, ferus et Cupido

Semper ardentes acuens sagittas 15
Cote cruenta.
Adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
Servitus crescit nova; nec priores
Impiæ tectum dominæ relinquunt,
Sæpe minati. 20
Te suis matres metuunt juvencis,
Te senes parci, miseræque nuper
Virgines nuptæ, tua ne retardet
Aura maritos.

ODE IX. (II. IX.)

AD VALGIUM.

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
Manant in agros, aut mare Caspium
Vexant inæquales procellæ
Usque: nec Armeniis in oris,
Amice Valgi, stat glacies iners 5
Menses per omnes: aut Aquilonibus
Querceta Gargani laborant,
Et foliis viduantur orni.
Tu semper urges flebilibus modis
Mysten ademtum: nec tibi Vespero 10
Surgente decedunt amores,
Nec rapidum fugiente solem.
At non ter ævo functus amabilem
Ploravit omnes Antilochum senex
Annos: nec impubem parentes 15
Troilon, aut Phrygiæ sorores
Flevere semper. Desine mollium
Tandem querelarum: et potius nova
Cantemus Augusti tropæa
Cæsaris, et rigidum Niphaten. 20

Medumque flumen gentibus additum
Victis, minores volvere vortices,
Intraque præscriptum Gelonos
Exiguis equitare campis.

ODE X. (M. XVIII.)

AD LICINIUM.

RECTIUS vives, Licini, neque altum
Semper urguendo; neque, dum procellas
Cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
Littus iniquum.
Auream quisquis mediocritatem 5
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.
Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus; et celsæ graviore casu 10
Decidunt turres; feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes.
Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
Alteram sortem bene præparatum
Pectus: informes hiemes reducit 15
Jupiter, idem
Summovet. Non, si male nunc, et olim
Sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
Suscitat Musam, neque semper arcum
Tendit Apollo. 20
Rebus angustis animosus atque
Fortis appare; sapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimium secundo
Turgida vela.

ODE XI. (M. XIX.)

AD Q. HIRPINUM.

Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
Hirpine Quincti, cogitet, Adria
Divisus objecto, remittas
Quærere; nec trepides in usum
Poscentis ævi pauca: fugit retro 5
Levis juventas et decor, arida
Pellente lascivos amores
Canitie facilemque somnum.
Non semper idem floribus est honos
Vernis, neque uno Luna rubens nitet 10
Vultu: quid æternis minorem
Consiliis animum fatigas?
Cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
Pinu jacentes sic temere, et rosa
Canos odorati capillos, 15
Dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
Potamus uncti? dissipat Evius
Curas edaces: quis puer ocyus
Restinguet ardentis Falerni
Pocula prætereunte lympha? 20
Quis devium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden? eburna, dic age, cum lyra
Maturet, incomtam, Lacænæ
More, comam religata nodo.

ODE XII. (M. XVI.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

Nolis longa feræ bella Numantiæ,
Nec durum Annibalem, nec Siculum mare

Pœno purpureum sanguine, mollibus
Aptari citharæ modis;
Nec sævos Lapithas, et nimium mero 5
Hylæum, domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris juvenes, unde periculum
Fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni veteris: Tuque pedestribus
Dices historiis prœlia Cæsaris, 10
Mæcenas, melius, ductaque per vias
Regum colla minantium.
Me dulces dominæ Musa Licymniæ
Cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum
Fulgentes oculos, et bene mutuis 15
Fidum pectus amoribus;
Quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris,
Nec certare joco, nec dare brachia
Ludentem nitidis virginibus, sacro
Dianæ celebris die. 20
Num tu, quæ tenuit dives Achæmenes,
Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdonias opes,
Permutare velis crine Licymniæ,
Plenas aut Arabum domos?
Dum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula 25
Cervicem, aut facili sævitia negat
Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupet.

ODE XIII. (M. XIX.)

IN ARBOREM, CUJUS CASU IN AGRO SABINO PENE OPPRESSUS EST.

ILLE et nefasto te posuit die,
Quicunque primum, et sacrilega manu
Produxit, arbos, in nepotum
Perniciem opprobriumque pagi.

Illum et parentis crediderim sui 5
Fregisse cervicem, et penetralia
Sparsisse nocturno cruore
Hospitis. Ille venena Colcha,
Et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas,
Tractavit, agro qui statuit meo 10
Te triste lignum, te caducum
In domini caput immerentis.
Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis
Cautum est in horas: navita Bosporum
Pœnus perhorrescit, neque ultra 15
Cæca timet aliunde fata:
Miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi; catenas Parthus et Italum
Robur: sed improvisa leti
Vis rapuit rapietque gentes. 20
Quam pene furvæ regna Proserpinæ,
Et judicantem vidimus Æacum,
Sedesque discretas piorum, et
Æoliis fidibus querentem
Sappho puellis de popularibus, 25
Et te sonantem plenius aureo
Alcæe plectro dura navis,
Dura fugæ mala, dura belli!
Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbræ dicere: sed magis 30
Pugnas et exactos tyrannos
Densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.
Quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
Demittit atras belua centiceps
Aures, et intorti capillis 35
Eumenidum recreantur angues?
Quin et Prometheus et Pelopis parens
Dulci laborem decipitur sono:
Nec curat Orion leones,
Aut timidos agitare lyncas. 40

ODE XIV. (M. XIX.)

AD POSTUMUM.

Eheu! fugaces, Postume, Postume,
Labuntur anni; nec pietas moram
  Rugis et instanti senectæ
    Afferet, indomitæque morti:
Non si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies, 5
Amice, places illacrimabilem
  Plutona tauris; qui ter amplum
    Geryonen Tityonque tristi
Compescit unda, scilicet omnibus,
Quicunque terræ munere vescimur, 10
  Enaviganda, sive reges
    Sive inopes erimus coloni.
Frustra cruento Marte carebimus,
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Adriæ;
  Frustra per autumnos nocentem 15
    Corporibus metuemus Austrum.
Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytus errans, et Danai genus
  Infame, damnatusque longi
    Sisyphus Æolides laboris. 20
Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor; neque harum quas colis arborum
  Te, præter invisas cupressos,
    Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.
Absumet hæres Cæcuba dignior 25
Servata centum clavibus; et mero
  Tinguet pavimentum superbis
    Pontificum potiore cœnis.

ODE XV. (M. XIX.)

Jam pauca aratro jugera regiæ
Moles relinquent; undique latius
Extenta visentur Lucrino
Stagna lacu, platanusque cœlebs
Evincet ulmos: tum violaria, et 5
Myrtus, et omnis copia narium,
Spargent olivetis odorem,
Fertilibus domino priori:
Tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
Excludet ictus. Non ita Romuli 10
Præscriptum et intonsi Catonis
Auspiciis, veterumque norma.
Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum: nulla decempedis
Metata privatis opacam 15
Porticus excipiebat Arcton;
Nec fortuitum spernere cespitem
Leges sinebant, oppida publico
Sumtu jubentes et Deorum
Templa novo decorare saxo. 20

ODE XVI. (M. XVIII.)

AD POMPEIUM GROSPHUM.

Otium Divos rogat in patente
Prensus Ægæo, simul atra nubes
Condidit Lunam, neque certa fulgent
Sidera nautis:
Otium bello furiosa Thrace, 5
Otium Medi pharetra decori,
Grosphe, non gemmis neque purpura venale, nec auro.

Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Summovet lictor miseros tumultus 10
Mentis, et curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes.
Vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
Splendet in mensa tenui salinum;
Nec leves somnos timor aut cupido 15
Sordidus aufert.
Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo
Multa? quid terras alio calentes
Sole mutamus? patriæ quis exsul
Se quoque fugit? 20
Scandit æratas vitiosa naves
Cura; nec turmas equitum relinquit,
Ocior cervis, et agente nimbos
Ocior Euro.
Lætus in præsens animus, quod ultra est, 25
Oderit curare, et amara lento
Temperet risu. Nihil est ab omni
Parte beatum.
Abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem;
Longa Tithonum minuit senectus; 30
Et mihi forsan, tibi quod negârit,
Porriget Hora.
Te greges centum Siculæque circum
Mugiunt vaccæ; tibi tollit hinnitum
Apta quadrigis equa; te bis Afro 35
Murice tinctæ
Vestiunt lanæ: mihi parva rura, et
Spiritum Graiæ tenuem Camœnæ
Parca non mendax dedit, et malignum
Spernere vulgus. 40

ODE XVII. (M. XIX.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

Cur me querelis exanimas tuis?
Nec Diis amicum est nec mihi te prius
Obire, Mæcenas, mearum
Grande decus columenque rerum.
Ah! te meæ si partem animæ rapit 5
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec carus æque, nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam: non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus, 10
Utcunque præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati.
Me nec Chimæræ spiritus igneæ,
Nec si resurgat centimanus Gyges,
Divellet unquam: sic potenti 15
Justitiæ placitumque Parcis.
Seu Libra, seu me Scorpius aspicit
Formidolosus, pars violentior
Natalis horæ, seu tyrannus
Hesperiæ Capricornus undæ; 20
Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
Consentit astrum: te Jovis impio
Tutela Saturno refulgens
Eripuit, volucrisque Fati
Tardavit alas, cum populus frequens 25
Lætum theatris ter crepuit sonum:
Me truncus illapsus cerebro
Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
Dextra levâsset, Mercurialium
Custos virorum. Reddere victimas 30
Ædemque votivam memento:
Nos humilem feriemus agnam.

ODE XVIII. (METRUM XI.)

Non ebur neque aureum
  Mea renidet in domo lacunar,
Non trabes Hymettiæ
  Premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa; neque Attali 5
  Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi;
Nec Laconicas mihi
  Trahunt honestæ purpuras clientæ.
At fides et ingenî
  Benigna vena est; pauperemque dives 10
Me petit: nihil supra
  Deos lacesso; nec potentem amicum
Largiora flagito,
  Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.
Truditur dies die, 15
  Novæque pergunt interire Lunæ.
Tu secanda marmora
  Locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulchri
Immemor, struis domos;
  Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urgues 20
Summovere littora,
  Parum locuples continente ripa.
Quid quod usque proximos
  Revellis agri terminos, et ultra
Limites clientium 25
  Salis avarus? pellitur paternos
In sinu ferens Deos
  Et uxor, et vir, sordidosque natos.
Nulla certior tamen
  Rapacis Orci fine destinata 30
Aula divitem manet
  Herum. Quid ultra tendis? Æqua tellus

Pauperi recluditur,
Regumque pueris; nec satelles Orci
Callidum Promethea 35
Revexit auro captus: hic superbum
Tantalum, atque Tantali
Genus coërcet: hic levare functum
Pauperem laboribus,
Vocatus atque non vocatus audit. 40

ODE XIX. (M. XIX.)

IN BACCHUM.

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem (credite posteri)
Nymphasque discentes, et aures
Capripedum Satyrorum acutas.
Evoe! recenti mens trepidat metu, 5
Plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
Lætatur. Evoe! parce Liber,
Parce, gravi metuende thyrso.
Fas pervicaces est mihi Thyadas,
Vinique fontem, lactis et uberes 10
Cantare rivos, atque truncis
Lapsa cavis iterare mella:
Fas et beatæ conjugis additum
Stellis honorem, tectaque Penthei
Disjecta non leni ruina, 15
Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.
Tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum:
Tu separatis uvidus in jugis
Nodo coërces viperino
Bistonidum sine fraude crines: 20
Tu, cum parentis regna per arduum

Cohors gigantum scanderet impia,
Rhœcum retorsisti leonis
Unguibus horribilisque mala:
Quanquam choreis aptior et jocis 25
Ludoque dictus, non sat idoneus
Pugnæ ferebaris, sed idem
Pacis eras mediusque belli.
Te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
Cornu decorum, leniter atterens 30
Caudam, et recedentis trilingui
Ore pedes tetigitque crura.

ODE XX. (M. XIX.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

Non usitata, nec tenui ferar
Penna biformis per liquidum æthera
Vates; neque in terris morabor
Longius; invidiaque major
Urbes relinquam: non ego, Pauperum 5
Sanguis parentum, non ego, quem vocant,
Dilecte Mæcenas, obibo;
Nec Stygia cohibebor unda.
Jam jam residunt cruribus asperæ
Pelles; et album mutor in alitem 10
Superna; nascunturque leves
Per digitos humerosque plumæ:
Jam Dædaleo notior Icaro
Visam gementis littora Bospori
Syrtesque Gætulas canorus 15
Ales Hyperboreosque campos.
Me Colchus, et qui dissimulat metum
Marsæ cohortis Dacus, et ultimi

Noscent Geloni; me peritus
Discet Iber, Rhodanique potor. 20
Absint inani funere næniæ,
Luctusque turpes, et querimoniæ:
Compesce clamorem, ac sepulchri
Mitte supervacuos honores.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

ODE I. (M. XIX.)

ODI profanum vulgus, et arceo.
Favete linguis: carmina non prius
  Audita Musarum sacerdos
    Virginibus puerisque canto.
Regum timendorum in proprios greges, 5
Reges in ipsos imperium est Jovis,
  Clari Giganteo triumpho,
    Cuncta supercilio moventis.
Est ut viro vir latius ordinet
Arbusta sulcis; hic generosior 10
  Descendat in Campum petitor;
    Moribus hic meliorque fama
Contendat; illa turba clientium
Sit major: ÆQUA lege Necessitas
  Sortitur insignes et imos; 15
    Omne capax movet urna nomen.
Districtus ensis cui super impia
Cervice pendet, non Siculæ dapes
  Dulcem elaborabunt saporem;
    Non avium citharæque cantus 20
Somnum reducent: somnus agrestium
Lenis virorum non humiles domos
  Fastidit, umbrosamque ripam,
    Non zephyris agitata Tempe.

DESIDERANTEM quod satis est, neque 25
Tumultuosum solicitat mare,
Nec sævus Arcturi cadentis
Impetus, aut orientis Hædi:
Non verberatæ grandine vineæ
Fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas 30
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros
Sidera, nunc hyemes iniquas.
Contracta pisces æquora sentiunt,
Jactis in altum molibus; huc frequens
Cæmenta demittit redemptor 35
Cum famulis, dominusque terræ
Fastidiosus. SED timor et minæ
Scandunt eodem quo dominus; neque
Decedit ærata triremi, et
Post equitem sedet atra Cura. 40
Quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis,
Nec purpurarum sidere clarior
Delinit usus, nec Falerna
Vitis, Achæmeniumque costum:
Cur invidendis postibus, et novo 45
Sublime ritu moliar atrium?
Cur valle permutem Sabina
Divitias operosiores?

ODE II. (M. XIX.)

ANGUSTAM, amici, pauperiem pati
Robustus acri militia puer
Condiscat; et Parthos feroces
Vexet eques metuendus hasta;
Vitamque sub divo, et trepidis agat 5
In rebus: illum ex mœnibus hosticis
Matrona bellantis tyranni
Prospiciens, et adulta virgo,

Suspiret, Eheu! ne rudis agminum
Sponsus lacessat regius asperum 10
Tactu leonem, quem cruenta
Per medias rapit ira cædes.
DULCE et decorum est pro patria mori:
Mors et fugacem persequitur virum;
Nec parcit imbellis juventæ 15
Poplitibus, timidove tergo.
Virtus, repulsæ nescia sordidæ,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus:
Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ. 20
Virtus, recludens immeritis mori
Cœlum, negata tentat iter via;
Cœtusque vulgares et udam
Spernit humum fugiente penna.
Est et fideli tuta silentio 25
Merces: vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanæ, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemve mecum
Solvat phaselum. Sæpe Diespiter
Neglectus incesto addidit integrum: 30
Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede Pœna claudo.

ODE III. (M. XIX.)

JUSTUM et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni,
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ, 5
Nec fulminantis magna manus Jovis:
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
Enisus, arces attigit igneas; 10
Quos inter Augustus recumbens
Purpureo bibit ore nectar:
Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuæ
Vexere tigres indocili jugum
Collo trahentes: hac Quirinus 15
Martis equis Acheronta fugit,
Gratum elocuta consiliantibus
Junone Divis: Ilion, Ilion
Fatalis incestusque judex,
Et mulier peregrina vertit 20
In pulverem, ex quo destituit Deos
Mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi
Castæque damnatum Minervæ
Cum populo et duce fraudulento.
Jam nec Lacænæ splendet adulteræ 25
Famosus hospes, nec Priami domus
Perjura pugnaces Achivos
Hectoreis opibus refringit;
Nostrisque ductum seditionibus
Bellum resedit: protinus et graves 30
Iras, et invisum nepotem,
Troica quem peperit sacerdos,
Marti redonabo. Illum ego lucidas
Inire sedes, ducere nectaris
Succos, et adscribi quietis 35
Ordinibus patiar Deorum.
Dum longus inter sæviat Ilion
Romamque pontus, qualibet exsules
In parte regnanto beati:
Dum Priami Paridisque busto 40
Insultet armentum, et catulos feræ
Celent inultæ; stet Capitolium
Fulgens, triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare jura Medis.

Horrenda late nomen in ultimas 45
Extendat oras; qua medius liquor
Secernit Europen ab Afro,
Qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus:
Aurum inrepertum, et sic melius situm,
Cum terra celat, spernere fortior, 50
Quam cogere humanos in usus,
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.
Quicunque mundo terminus obstitit,
Hunc tangat armis, visere gestiens
Qua parte debacchentur ignes, 55
Qua nebulæ pluviique rores.
Sed bellicosis fata Quiritibus
Hac lege dico, ne nimium pii,
Rebusque fidentes, avitæ
Tecta velint reparare Trojæ. 60
Trojæ renascens alite lugubri
Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
Ducente victrices catervas
Conjuge me Jovis et sorore.
Ter si resurgat murus aheneus 65
Auctore Phœbo, ter pereat meis
Excisus Argivis, ter uxor
Capta virum puerosque ploret.
Non hæc jocosæ conveniunt lyræ:
Quo, Musa, tendis? desine pervicax 70
Referre sermones Deorum, et
Magna modis tenuare parvis.

ODE IV. (M. XIX.)

AD CALLIOPEN.

Descende cœlo, et dic age tibia
Regina longum Calliope melos,

Seu voce nunc mavis acuta,
Seu fidibus citharaque Phœbi.
Auditis? an me ludit amabilis 5
Insania? audire et videor pios
Errare per lucos, amœnæ
Quos et aquæ subeunt et auræ.
Me fabulosæ Vulture in Appulo,
Nutricis extra limen Apuliæ, 10
Ludo fatigatumque somno,
Fronde nova puerum palumbes
Texere; mirum quod foret omnibus,
Quicunque celsæ nidum Acherontiæ,
Saltusque Bantinos, et arvum 15
Pingue tenent humilis Ferenti,
Ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
Dormirem et ursis; ut premerer sacra
Lauroque, collataque myrto,
Non sine Diis animosus infans. 20
Vester, Camœnæ, vester in arduos
Tollor Sabinos; seu mihi frigidum
Præneste, seu Tibur supinum,
Seu liquidæ placuere Baiæ.
Vestris amicum fontibus et choris, 25
Non me Philippis versa acies retro,
Devota non extinxit arbos,
Nec Sicula Palinurus unda.
Utcunque mecum vos eritis, libens
Insanientem navita Bosporum 30
Tentabo, et arentes arenas
Littoris Assyrii viator:
Visam Britannos hospitibus feros,
Et lætum equino sanguine Concanum:
Visam pharetratos Gelonos 35
Et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.
Vos Cæsarem altum, militia simul
Fessas cohortes abdidit oppidis,

Finire quærentem labores,
Pierio recreatis antro. 40
Vos lene consilium et datis, et dato
Gaudetis almæ. Scimus ut impios
Titanas immanemque turmam
Fulmine sustulerit caduco,
Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat 45
Ventosum, et urbes, regnaque tristia,
Divosque, mortalesque turbas
Imperio regit unus æquo.
Magnum illa terrorem intulerat Jovi
Fidens juventus horrida brachiis, 50
Fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion imposuisse Olympo.
Sed quid Typhoeus et validus Mimas,
Aut quid minaci Porphyrion statu,
Quid Rhœcus, evulsisque truncis 55
Enceladus jaculator audax,
Contra sonantem Palladis ægida
Possent ruentes? Hinc avidus stetit
Vulcanus, hinc matrona Juno, et
Nunquam humeris positurus arcum, 60
Qui rore puro Castaliæ lavit
Crines solutos, qui Lyciæ tenet
Dumeta natalemque silvam,
Delius et Patareus Apollo.
Vis consilî expers mole ruit sua: 65
Vim temperatam Dii quoque provehunt
In majus; îdem odere vires
Omne nefas animo moventes.
Testis mearum centimanus Gyges
Sententiarum, notus et integræ 70
Tentator Orion Dianæ,
Virginea domitus sagitta.
Injecta monstris terra dolet suis;
Mœretque partus fulmine luridum

Missos ad Orcum: nec peredit 75
Impositam celer ignis Ætnam;
Incontinentis nec Tityi jecur
Relinquit ales, nequitiæ additus
Custos: amatorem trecentæ
Pirithoum cohibent catenæ. 80

ODE V. (M. XIX).

Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem
Regnare: præsens Divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio, gravibusque Persis.
Milesne Crassi conjuge barbara 5
Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium
(Prô curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit socerorum in arvis,
Sub rege Medo, Marsus et Appulus,
Anciliorum, et nominis, et togæ 10
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove, et urbe Roma?
Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli,
Dissentientis conditionibus
Fœdis, et exemplo trahenti 15
Perniciem veniens in ævum;
Si non perirent immiserabiles,
Captiva pubes. Signa ego Punicis
Affixa delubris, et arma
Militibus sine cæde, dixit, 20
Derepta vidi: vidi ego civium
Retorta tergo brachia libero,
Portasque non clausas, et arva
Marte coli populata nostro.

Auro repensus scilicet acrior 25
Miles redibit? flagitio additis
  Damnum. NEQUE amissos colores
    Lana refert medicata fuco;
Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus. 30
  Si pugnat extricata densis
    Cerva plagis, erit ille fortis,
Qui perfidis se credidit hostibus;
Et Marte Pœnos proteret altero,
  Qui lora restrictis lacertis 35
    Sensit iners, timuitque mortem.
Hic unde vitam sumeret inscius,
Pacem duello miscuit. O pudor!
  O magna Carthago probrosis
    Altior Italiæ ruinis! 40
Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,
Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,
  Ab se removisse, et virilem
    Torvus humi posuisse vultum;
Donec labantes consilio patres 45
Firmaret auctor nunquam alias dato,
  Interque mœrentes amicos
    Egregius properaret exsul.
Atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet: non aliter tamen 50
  Dimovit obstantes propinquos,
    Et populum reditus morantem,
Quam si clientum longa negotia
Dijudicata lite relinqueret,
  Tendens Venafranos in agros, 55
    Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum.

ODE VI. (III. XIX.)

AD ROMANOS.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes Deorum, et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.
Diis te minorem quod geris, imperas: 5
Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Di multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiæ mala luctuosæ.
Jam bis Monæses, et Pacori manus
Non auspicatos contudit impetus 10
Nostros; et adjecisse prædam
Torquibus exiguis renidet.
Pene, occupatam seditionibus,
Delevit urbem Dacus et Æthiops;
Hic classe formidatus, ille 15
Missilibus melior sagittis.
Fœcunda culpæ sæcula nuptias
Primum inquinavere, et genus et domos:
Hoc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit. 20
Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo; et fingitur artubus
Jam nunc, et incestos amores
De tenero meditatur ungui:
Mox juniores quærit adulteros 25
Inter mariti vina, neque eligit
Cui donet impermissa raptim
Gaudia, luminibus remotis;
Sed jussa coram non sine conscio
Surgit marito, seu vocat institor, 30
Seu navis Hispanæ magister,
Dedecorum pretiosus emtor.

Non his juventus orta parentibus
Infecit æquor sanguine Punico;
Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit 35
Antiochum Annibalemque dirum:
Sed rusticorum mascula militum
Proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
Versare glebas, et severæ
Matris ad arbitrium recisos 40
Portare fustes; sol ubi montium
Mutaret umbras, et juga demeret
Bobus fatigatis amicum
Tempus agens abeunte curru.
Damnosa quid non imminuit dies? 45
Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit
Nos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosiorem.

ODE VII. (M. XVII.)

AD ASTERIEN.

Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi
Primo restituent vere Favonii,
Thyna merce beatum,
Constantis juvenem fide
Gygen? ille Notis actus ad Oricum 5
Post insana Capræ sidera, frigidas
Noctes non sine multis
Insomnis lacrimis agit.
Atqui solicitæ nuntius hospitæ,
Suspirare Chloen, et miseram tuis 10
Dicens ignibus uri,
Tentat mille vafer modis;

Ut Prœtum mulier perfida credulum
Falsis impulerit criminibus, nimis
Casto Bellerophonti 15
Maturare necem, refert.
Narrat pene datum Pelea Tartaro,
Magnessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinens:
Et peccare docentes
Fallax historias movet; 20
Frustra: nam scopulis surdior Icarî
Voces audit adhuc integer. At tibi
Ne vicinus Enipeus
Plus justo placeat, cave.
Quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens 25
Æque conspicitur gramine Martio,
Nec quisquam citus æque
Tusco denatat alveo,
Prima nocte domum claude, neque in vias
Sub cantu querulæ despice tibiæ; 30
Et te sæpe vocanti
Duram, difficilis mane.

ODE VIII. (M. XVIII.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

Martiis cœlebs quid agam Calendis,
Quid velint flores et acerra turis
Plena, miraris, positusque carbo in
Cespite vivo,
Docte sermones utriusque linguæ. 5
Voveram dulces epulas, et album
Libero caprum, prope funeratus
Arboris ictu.

Hic dies, anno redeunte festus,
Corticem astrictum pice dimovebit 10
Amphoræ fumum bibere institutæ
Consule Tullo.
Sume, Mæcenas, cyathos amici
Sospitis centum; et vigiles lucernas
Perfer in lucem: procul omnis esto 15
Clamor et ira.
Mitte civiles super urbe curas:
Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen;
Medus infestus sibi luctuosis
Dissidet armis; 20
Servit Hispanæ vetus hostis oræ
Cantaber, sera domitus catena;
Jam Scythæ laxo meditantur arcu
Cedere campis.
Negligens, ne qua populus laboret, 25
Parce privatus nimium cavere:
Dona præsentis cape lætus horæ, et
Linque severa.

ODE IX. (M. XV.)

AD LYDIAM.

HOR. DONEC gratus eram tibi,
Nec quisquam potior brachia candidæ
Cervici juvenis dabat,
Persarum vigui rege beatior.
LYD. Donec non alia magis 5
Arsisti, neque erat Lydia post Chloen,
Multi Lydia nominis
Romana vigui clarior Ilia.
HOR. Me nunc Thressa Chloe regit,
Dulces docta modos, et citharæ sciens; 10

Pro qua non metuam mori,
Si parcent animæ fata superstiti.
LYD. Me torret face mutua
Thurini Calais filius Ornyti;
Pro quo bis patiar mori, 15
Si parcent puero fata superstiti.
HOR. Quid si prisca redit Venus,
Diductosque jugo cogit aheneo?
Si flava excutitur Chloe,
Rejectæque patet janua Lydiæ? 20
LYD. Quanquam sidere pulchrior
Ille est, tu levior cortice, et improbo
Iracundior Adria,
Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.

ODE X. (M. XVI.)

AD LYCEN.

EXTREMUM Tanain si biberes, Lyce,
Sævo nupta viro, me tamen asperas
Porrectum ante fores objicere incolis
Plorares Aquilonibus.
Audis quo strepitu janua, quo nemus 5
Inter pulchra satum tecta remugiat
Ventis, et positas ut glaciet nives
Puro numine Jupiter?
Ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
Ne currente rota funis eat retro, 10
Non te Penelopen difficilem procis
Tyrrhenus genuit parens.
O, quamvis neque te munera, nec preces,
Nec tinctus viola pallor amantium,
Nec vir Pieria pellice saucius 15
Curvat: supplicibus tuis

Parcas, nec rigida mollior æsculo,
Nec Mauris animum mitior anguibus:
Non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquæ
Cælestis patiens latus. 20

ODE XI. (M. XVIII.)

AD MERCURIUM.

MERCURI (nam te docilis magistro
Movit Amphion lapides canendo)
Tuque Testudo resonare septem
Callida nervis,
Nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc et 5
Divitum mensis et amica templis,
Dic modos, Lyde quibus obstinatas
Applicet aures:
Quæ, velut latis equa trima campis,
Ludit exsultim, metuitque tangi, 10
Nuptiarum expers, et adhuc protervo
Cruda marito.
Tu potes tigres comitesque sylvas
Ducere, et rivos celeres morari:
Cessit immanis tibi blandienti 15
Janitor aulæ
Cerberus; quamvis furiale centum
Muniant angues caput ejus, atque
Spiritus teter saniesque manet
Ore trilingui. 20
Quin et Ixion, Tityosque vultu
Risit invito: stetit urna paulum
Sicca, dum grato Danai puellas
Carmine mulces.
Audiat Lyde scelus atque notas 25
Virginum pœnas, et inanc lymphæ

Dolium fundo pereuntis imo,
Seraque fata,
Quæ manent culpas etiam sub Orco:
Impiæ (nam quid potuere majus?) 30
Impiæ sponsos potuere duro
Perdere ferro.
Una de multis, face nuptiali
Digna, perjurum fuit in parentem
Splendide mendax, et in omne virgo 35
Nobilis ævum:
Surge, quæ dixit juveni marito,
Surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde
Non times, detur: socerum et scelestas
Falle sorores; 40
Quæ, velut nactæ vitulos leænæ,
Singulos, eheu! lacerant: ego illis
Mollior, nec te feriam, neque intra
Claustra tenebo.
Me pater sævis oneret catenis, 45
Quod viro clemens misero peperci:
Me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
Classe releget.
I, pedes quo te rapiunt et auræ;
Dum favet nox, et Venus; i secundo 50
Omine; et nostri memorem sepulchro
Scalpe querelam.

ODE XII. (METRUM XII.)

AD NEOBULEN.

MISERARUM est, nec amori dare ludum, neque dulci
Mala vino lavere; aut exanimari metuentes
Patruæ verbera linguæ.
Tibi qualum Cythereæ puer ales, tibi telas

Operosæque Minervæ studium aufert, Neobule, 5
Liparæi nitor Hebri;
Simul unctos Tiberinis humeros lavit in undis
Eques ipso melior Bellerophonte, neque pugno
Neque segni pede victus:
Catus idem per apertum fugientes agitato 10
Grege cervos jaculari, et celer arcto latitantem
Fruticeto excipere aprum.

ODE XIII. (M. XVII.)

AD FONTEM BANDUSIÆ.

O FONS Bandusiæ, splendidior vitro,
Dulci digne mero, non sine floribus,
Cras donaberis hædo,
Cui frons turgida cornibus
Primis et Venerem et prœlia destinat, 5
Frustra; nam gelidos inficiet tibi
Rubro sanguine rivos
Lascivi suboles gregis.
Te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculæ
Nescit tangere: tu frigus amabile 10
Fessis vomere tauris
Præbes, et pecori vago.
Fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
Me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
Saxis, unde loquaces 15
Lymphæ desiliunt tuæ.

ODE XIV. (M. XVIII.)

DE REDITU AUGUSTI.

HERCULIS ritu modo dictus, O plebs,
Morte venalem petiisse laurum,

Cæsar Hispana repetit penates
Victor ab ora.
Unico gaudens mulier marito, 5
Prodeat, justis operata Divis;
Et soror clari ducis, et decoræ
Supplice vitta
Virginum matres, juvenumque nuper
Sospitum: vos O pueri, et puellæ 10
Jam virum expertæ, male inominatis
Parcite verbis.
Hic dies vere mihi festus atras
Eximet curas: ego nec tumultum,
Nec mori per vim metuam, tenente 15
Cæsare terras.
I, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas,
Et cadum Marsi memorem duelli;
Spartacum siqua potuit vagantem
Fallere testa. 20
Dic et argutæ properet Neæræ
Myrrheum nodo cohibere crinem:
Si per invisum mora janitorem
Fiet, abito.
Lenit albescens animos capillus 25
Litium et rixæ cupidos protervæ.
Non ego hoc ferrem, calidus juventa,
Consule Planco.

ODE XV. (M. XV.)

IN CHLORIM.

Uxor pauperis Ibyci,
Tandem nequitiæ fige modum tuæ,
Famosisque laboribus:
Maturo propior desine funeri

Inter ludere virgines, 5
  Et stellis nebulam spargere candidis.
Non, si quid Pholoen satis,
  Et te, Chlori, decet: filia rectius
Expugnat juvenum domos,
  Pulso Thyas uti concita tympano. 10
Illam cogit amor Nothi
  Lascivæ similem ludere capreæ:
Te lanæ prope nobilem
  Tonsæ Luceriam, non citharæ decent,
Nec flos purpureus rosæ, 15
  Nec poti vetulam fæce tenus cadi.

ODE XVI. (M. XVI.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

INCLUSAM Danaen turris ahenea,
Robustæque fores, et vigilum canum
Tristes excubiæ munierant satis
    Nocturnis ab adulteris;
Si non Acrisium, virginis abditæ 5
Custodem pavidum, Jupiter et Venus
Risissent: fore enim tutum iter et patens,
    Converso in pretium Deo.
AURUM per medios ire satellites,
Et perrumpere amat saxa, potentius 10
Ictu fulmineo: concidit auguris
    Argivi domus, ob lucrum
Demersa exitio: diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus: munera navium 15
    Sævos illaqueant duces.
CRESCENTEM sequitur cura pecuniam,
Majorumque fames: jure perhorrui

Late conspicuum tollere verticem,
 Mæcenas, equitum decus. 20
Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
A Diis plura feret. Nil cupientium
Nudus castra peto; et transfuga, divitum
 Partes linquere gestio,
Contemtæ dominus splendidior rei, 25
Quam si quicquid arat impiger Appulus
Occultare meis dicerer horreis,
 Magnas inter opes inops.
Puræ rivus aquæ silvaque jugerum
Paucorum, et segetis certa fides meæ, 30
Fulgentem imperio fertilis Africæ
 Fallit sorte beatior.
Quamquam nec Calabræ mella ferunt apes,
Nec Læstrygonia Bacchus in amphora
Languescit mihi, nec pinguia Gallicis 35
 Crescunt vellera pascuis;
Importuna tamen pauperies abest:
Nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges.
Contracto melius parva cupidine
 Vectigalia porrigam, 40
Quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei
Campis continuem. MULTA petentibus
Desunt multa. Bene est cui Deus obtulit
 Parca quod satis est manu.

ODE XVII. (M. XIX.)

AD ÆLIUM LAMIAM.

ÆLI, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
(Quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt
 Denominatos, et nepotum
 Per memores genus omne fastos

Auctore ab illo ducit originem,) 5
Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
Princeps, et innantem Maricæ
Littoribus tenuisse Lirim
Late tyrannus, cras foliis nemus
Multis et alga littus inutili 10
Demissa tempestas ab Euro
Sternet, aquæ nisi fallit augur
Annosa cornix. Dum potis, aridum
Compone lignum: cras genium mero
Curabis, et porco bimestri, 15
Cum famulis operum solutis.

ODE XVIII. (M. XVIII.)

AD FAUNUM.

FAUNE, Nympharum fugientum amator,
Per meos fines et aprica rura
Lenis incedas, abeasque parvis
Æquus alumnis:
Si tener pleno cadit hœdus anno, 5
Larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
Vina crateræ; vetus ara multo
Fumat odore.
Ludit herboso pecus omne campo,
Cum tibi Nonæ redeunt Decembres: 10
Festus in pratis vacat otioso
Cum bove pagus:
Inter audaces lupus errat agnos:
Spargit agrestes tibi silva frondes:
Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor 15
Ter pede terram.

ODE XIX. (M. XV.)

AD TELEPHUM.

QUANTUM distet ab Inacho
Codrus, pro patria non timidus mori,
Narras, et genus Æaci,
Et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio:
Quo Chium pretio cadum 5
Mercemur; quis aquam temperet ignibus;
Quo præbente domum, et quota,
Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.
Da Lunæ propere novæ,
Da Noctis mediæ, da, puer, auguris 10
Murænæ; tribus aut novem
Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.
Qui Musas amat impares,
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
Vates: tres prohibet supra 15
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia,
Nudis juncta sororibus.
Insanire juvat: cur Berecyntiæ
Cessant flamina tibiæ?
Cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra? 20
Parcentes ego dexteras
Odi: sparge rosas: audiat invidus
Dementem strepitum Lycus,
Et vicina seni non habilis Lyco.
Spissa te nitidum coma, 25
Puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero
Tempestiva petit Chloe:
Me lentus Glyceræ torret amor meæ.

ODE XX. (M. XVIII.)

AD PYRRHUM.

Non vides quanto moveas periclo,
Pyrrhe, Gætulæ catulos leænæ?
Dura post paulo fugies inaudax
Prœlia raptor;
Cum per obstantes juvenum catervas 5
Ibit insignem repetens Nearchum:
Grande certamen tibi præda cedat
Major, an illi.
Interim, dum tu celeres sagittas
Promis, hæc dentes acuit timendos; 10
Arbiter pugnæ posuisse nudo
Sub pede palmam
Fertur, et leni recreare vento
Sparsum odoratis humerum capillis;
Qualis aut Nireus fuit, aut aquosa 15
Raptus ab Ida.

ODE XXI. (M. XIX.)

AD AMPHORAM.

O nata mecum consule Manlio,
Seu tu querelas, sive geris jocos,
Seu rixam et insanos amores,
Seu facilem, pia testa, somnum;
Quocunque lectum nomine Massicum 5
Servas, moveri digna bono die,
Descende, Corvino jubente,
Promere languidiora vina.
Non ille, quanquam Socraticis madet
Sermonibus, te negliget horridus: 10

Narratur et prisci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.
Tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
Plerumque duro: tu sapientium
Curas et arcanum jocoso 15
Consilium retegis Lyæo:
Tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis,
Viresque; et addis cornua pauperi,
Post te nec iratos trementi
Regum apices, neque militum arma. 20
Te Liber, et si læta aderit Venus,
Segnesque nodum solvere Gratiæ,
Vivæque producent lucernæ,
Dum rediens fugat astra Phœbus.

ODE XXII. (M. XVIII.)

IN DIANAM.

Montium custos nemorumque, Virgo,
Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque leto,
Diva triformis;
Imminens villæ tua pinus esto, 5
Quam per exactos ego lætus annos
Verris obliquum meditantis ictum
Sanguine donem.

ODE XXIII. (M. XIX.)

AD PHIDYLEN.

Cœlo supinas si tuleris manus
Nascente Luna, rustica Phidyle;
Si thure placâris et horna
Fruge Lares, avidaque porca;

Nec pestilentem sentiet Africum 5
Fœcunda vitis, nec sterilem seges
Rubiginem, aut dulces alumni
Pomifero grave tempus anno.
Nam, quæ nivali pascitur Algido
Devota quercus inter et ilices, 10
Aut crescit Albanis in herbis
Victima, pontificum secures
Cervice tinguet: te nihil attinet
Tentare multa cæde bidentium
Parvos coronantem marino 15
Rore Deos fragilique myrto.
IMMUNIS aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumtuosâ blandior hostiâ
Mollivit aversos penates
Farre pio, et saliente mica. 20

ODE XXIV. (M. XV.)

INTACTIS opulentior
Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiæ,
Cæmentis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum;
Si figit adamantinos 5
Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clavos, non animum metu,
Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.
Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos, 10
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ,
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt;
Nec cultura placet longior annua;
Defunctumque laboribus 15
Æquali recreat sorte vicarius.

Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens:
Nec dotata regit virum
Conjux, nec nitido fidit adultero. 20
Dos est magna parentium
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere castitas,
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium emori.
O quisquis volet impias 25
Cædes et rabiem tollere civicam;
Si quæret Pater urbium
Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
Refrænare licentiam,
Clarus postgenitis: quatenus (heu nefas!) 30
Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.
Quid tristes querimoniæ,
Si non supplicio culpa reciditur?
Quid leges sine moribus 35
Vanæ proficiunt? si neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Duratæque solo nives
Mercatorem abigunt; horrida callidi 40
Vincunt æquora navitæ;
Magnum pauperies opprobrium jubet
Quidvis et facere et pati,
Virtutisque viam deserit arduæ.
Vel nos in Capitolium, 45
Quo clamor vocat et turba faventium,
Vel nos in mare proximum
Gemmas et lapides, aurum et inutile,
Summi materiem mali,
Mittamus, scelerum si bene pœnitet. 50
Eradenda cupidinis
Pravi sunt elementa; et teneræ nimis

Mentes asperioribus
  Formandæ studiis: nescit equo rudis
Hærere ingenuus puer, 55
  Venarique timet, ludere doctior
Seu Græco jubeas trocho,
  Seu malis vetita legibus alea;
Cum perjura patris fides
  Consortem, socium fallat, et hospitem. 60
Indignoque pecuniam
  Hæredi properet. Scilicet improbæ
Crescunt divitiæ; tamen
  Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei.

ODE XXV. (M. XV.)

AD BACCHUM.

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
  Plenum! quæ nemora aut quos agor in specus,
Velox mente nova! quibus
  Antris egregii Cæsaris audiar
Æternum meditans decus 5
  Stellis inserere et concilio Jovis!
Dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
  Indictum ore alio. Non secus in jugis
Exsomnis stupet Evias,
  Hebrum prospiciens, et nive candidam 10
Thracen, ac pede barbaro
  Lustratam Rhodopen. Ut mihi devio
Ripas et vacuum nemus
  Mirari libet! O Naïadum potens,
Baccharumque valentium 15
  Proceras manibus vertere fraxinos,
Nil parvum aut humili modo,
  Nil mortale loquar. Dulce periculum est,

O Lenæe, sequi Deum
  Cingentem viridi tempora pampino. 20

ODE XXVI. (M. XIX.)

AD VENEREM.

VIXI puellis nuper idoneus,
Et militavi non sine gloria;
  Nunc arma defunctumque bello
    Barbiton hic paries habebit,
Lævum marinæ qui Veneris latus 5
Custodit. Hic, hic ponite lucida
  Funalia et vectes et arcus
    Oppositis foribus minaces.
O quæ beatum Diva tenes Cyprum et
Memphin carentem Sithonia nive 10
  Regina, sublimi flagello
    Tange Chloen semel arrogantem.

ODE XXVII. (M. XVIII.)

AD GALATEAM.

IMPIOS parræ recinentis omen
Ducat, et prægnans canis, aut ab agro
Rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino,
    Fœtaque vulpes;
Rumpat et serpens iter institutum, 5
Si per obliquum similis sagittæ
Terruit mannos. Ego cui timebo
    Providus auspex,
Antequam stantes repetat paludes
Imbrium divina avis imminentum, 10
Oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
    Solis ab ortu.

Sis licet felix ubicunque mavis,
Et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas:
Teque nec lævus vetat ire picus, 15
    Nec vaga cornix.
Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion! ego quid sit ater
Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus
    Peccet Iapyx. 20
Hostium uxores puerique cæcos
Sentiant motus orientis Austri, et
Æquoris nigri fremitum, et trementes
    Verbere ripas.
Sic et Europe niveum doloso 25
Credidit tauro latus, et scatentem
Beluis pontum mediasque fraudes
    Palluit audax.
Nuper in pratis studiosa florum, et
Debitæ Nymphis opifex coronæ, 30
Nocte sublustri nihil astra præter
    Vidit et undas:
Quæ simul centum tetigit potentem
Oppidis Creten, Pater O relictum
Filiæ nomen, pietasque, dixit, 35
    Victa furore!
Unde? quo veni? levis una mors est
Virginum culpæ. Vigilansne ploro
Turpe commissum? an vitio carentem
    Ludit imago 40
Vana, quæ porta fugiens eburna
Somnium ducit? meliusne fluctus
Ire per longos fuit, an recentes
    Carpere flores?
Si quis infamem mihi nunc juvencum 45
Dedat iratæ, lacerare ferro et
Frangere enitar modo multum amati
    Cornua monstri.

Impudens liqui patrios penates,
Impudens Orcum moror. O Deorum 50
Si quis hæc audis! utinam inter errem
Nuda leones.
Antequam turpis macies decentes
Occupet malas, teneræque succus
Defluat prædæ, speciosa quæro 55
Pascere tigres.
Vilis Europe, pater urguet absens,
Quid mori cessas? potes hac ab orno
Pendulum zona bene te secuta e-
lidere collum: 60
Sive te rupes et acuta leto
Saxa delectant; age, te procellæ
Crede veloci: nisi herile mavis
Carpere pensum,
Regius sanguis, dominæque tradi 65
Barbaræ pellex. Aderat querenti
Perfidum ridens Venus, et remisso
Filius arcu.
Mox ubi lusit satis, Abstineto,
Dixit, irarum calidæque rixæ, 70
Cum tibi invisus laceranda reddet
Cornua taurus.
Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis?
Mitte singultus; bene ferre magnam
Disce fortunam: tua sectus orbis 75
Nomina ducet.

ODE XXVIII. (M. XV.)

AD LYDEN.

FESTO quid potius die
Neptuni faciam? Prome reconditum,
Lyde strenua, Cæcubum,
Munitæque adhibe vim sapientiæ.

Inclinare meridiem 5
Sentis ; ac, veluti stet volucris dies,
Parcis deripere horreo
Cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram.
Nos cantabimus invicem
Neptunum, et virides Nereïdum comas: 10
Tu curva recines lyra
Latonam, et celeris spicula Cynthiæ:
Summo carmine, quæ Cnidon
Fulgentesque tenet Cycladas, et Paphon
Junctis visit oloribus: 15
Dicetur merita Nox quoque nænia.

ODE XXIX. (M. XIX.)

AD MÆCENATEM.

TYRRHENA regum progenies, tibi
Non ante verso lene merum cado
Cum flore, Mæcenas, rosarum, et
Pressa tuis balanus capillis
Jamdudum apud me est: eripe te moræ; 5
Ut semper-udum Tibur et Æsulæ
Declive contempleris arvum, et
Telegoni juga parricidæ.
Fastidiosam desere copiam, et
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis: 10
Omitte mirari beatæ
Fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ.
Plerumque gratæ divitibus vices,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
Cœnæ, sine aulæis et ostro, 15
Solicitam explicuere frontem.
Jam clarus occultum Andromedæ pater
Ostendit ignem; jam Procyon furit,

Et stella vesani Leonis,
Sole dies referente siccos. 20
Jam pastor umbras cum grege languido
Rivumque fessus quærit, et horridi
Dumeta Silvani; caretque
Ripa vagis taciturna ventis.
Tu civitatem quis deceat status, 25
Curas; et urbi solicitus times,
Quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors.
PRUDENS futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit Deus; 30
Ridetque, si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat. Quod adest, memento
Componere æquus: cætera fluminis
Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
Cum pace delabentis Etruscum 35
In mare, nunc lapides adesos,
Stirpesque raptas, et pecus, et domos,
Volventis una, non sine montium
Clamore vicinæque silvæ,
Cum fera diluvies quietos 40
Irritat amnes. ILLE potens sui
Lætusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse, Vixi: cras vel atra
Nube polum Pater occupato,
Vel sole puro: non tamen irritum, 45
Quodcunque retro est, efficiet; neque
Diffinget infectumque reddet,
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.
Fortuna, sævo læta negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax, 50
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo manentem: si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit, et mea

Virtute me involvo, probamque 55
Pauperiem sine dote quæro.
Non est meum, si mugiat Africis
Malus procellis, ad miseras preces
Decurrere et votis pacisci,
Ne Cypriæ Tyriæque merces 60
Addant avaro divitias mari:
Tum me biremis præsidio scaphæ
Tutum per Ægæos tumultus
Aura feret, geminusque Pollux.

ODE XXX. (M. XIV.)

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ Pyramidum altius:
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum. 5
Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
Vitabit Libitinam. Usque ego postera
Crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
Scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.
Dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus, 10
Et qua pauper aquæ Daunus agrestium
Regnavit populorum, ex humili potens,
Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
Deduxisse modos. Sume superbiam
Quæsitam meritis, et mihi Delphica 15
Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

EPISTOLARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

EPISTOLA I.

AD MÆCENATEM.

PRIMA dicte mihi, summa dicende Camœna,
Spectatum satis, et donatum jam rude, quæris,
Mæcenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Non eadem est ætas, non mens. Veianius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro, 5
Ne populum extrema toties exoret arena.
Est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem;
Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, et ilia ducat.
Nunc itaque et versus et cætera ludicra pono: 10
Quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc [sum:
Condo et compono quæ mox depromere possim.
Ac ne forte roges, quo me duce, quo lare tuter:
Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,
Quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes. 15
Nunc agilis fio, et mersor civilibus undis,
Virtutis veræ custos rigidusque satelles:
Nunc in Aristippi furtim præcepta relabor,
Et mihi res, non me rebus subjungere conor.
Ut nox longa, quibus mentitur amica, diesque 20
Lenta videtur opus debentibus; ut piger annus
Pupillis, quos dura premit custodia matrum:
Sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quæ spem
Consiliumque morantur agendi gnaviter id quod

Æque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æque, 25
Æque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.
Restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis:
Non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,
Non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungui;
Nec, quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis, 30
Nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.
Est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.
Fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus?
Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem
Possis, et magnam morbi deponere partem. 35
Laudis amore tumes? sunt certa piacula, quæ te
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
Si modo culturæ patientem commodet aurem. 40
Virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
Stultitia caruisse. Vides, quæ maxima credis
Esse mala, exiguum censum, turpemque repulsam,
Quanto devites animo capitisque labore:
Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos, 45
Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes:
Ne cures ea quæ stulte miraris et optas,
Discere et audire et meliori credere non vis?
Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax,
Magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes, 50
Cui sit conditio dulcis sine pulvere palmæ?
Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
O cives, cives quærenda pecunia primum est,
Virtus post nummos. Hæc Janus summus ab imo
Prodocet: hæc recinunt juvenes dictata senesque, 55
Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
Est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua fidesque:
Sed quadringentis sex, septem millia desint;
Plebs eris. At pueri ludentes, Rex eris, aiunt,
Si recte facies. Hic murus aheneus esto, 60

Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.
Roscia (dic sodes) melior lex, an puerorum est
Nænia, quæ regnum recte facientibus offert,
Et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?
Isne tibi melius suadet, qui, Rem facias; rem, 65
Si possis, recte; si non, quocunque modo rem,
Ut propius spectes lacrimosa poëmata Pupî:
An qui fortunæ te responsare superbæ
Liberum et erectum præsens hortatur et aptat?
Quod si me populus Romanus forte roget, cur 70
Non, ut porticibus, sic judiciis fruar iisdem,
Nec sequar, aut fugiam, quæ diligit ipse, vel odit:
Olim quod vulpes ægroto cauta leoni
Respondit, referam: Quia me vestigia terrent
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum. 75
Belua multorum es capitum: nam quid sequar? aut quem?
Pars hominum gestit conducere publica: sunt qui
Crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras,
Excipiantque senes, quos in vivaria mittant:
Multis occulto crescit res fœnore. Verum 80
Esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri;
Iidem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?
Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amœnis,
Si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem
Festinantis heri; cui si vitiosa libido 85
Fecerit auspicium, cras ferramenta Teanum
Tolletis, fabri. Lectus genialis in aula est?
Nil ait esse prius, melius nil cœlibe vita;
Si non est, jurat bene solis esse maritis.
Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo? 90
Quid pauper? ride: mutat cœnacula, lectos,
Balnea, tonsores; conducto navigio æque
Nauseat ac locuples, quem ducit priva triremis.
Si curatus inæquali tonsore capillos
Occurri, rides: si forte subucula pexæ 95
Trita subest tunicæ, vel si toga dissidet impar,
Rides: quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum?

Quod petiit, spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit?
Æstuat, et vitæ disconvenit ordine toto?
Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis? 100
Insanire putas solennia me, neque rides,
Nec medici credis nec curatoris egere
A prætore dati, rerum tutela mearum
Cum sis, et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem
De te pendentis, te respicientis amici. 105
Ad summam, sapiens uno minor est Jove, dives,
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum;
Præcipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

EPISTOLA II.

AD LOLLIUM.

Trojani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romæ, Præneste relegi;
Qui, quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.
Cur ita crediderim, nisi quid te detinet, audi. 5
Fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem
Græcia Barbariæ lento collisa duello,
Stultorum regum et populorum continet æstus.
Antenor censet belli præcidere causam.
Quid Paris? ut salvus regnet, vivatque beatus, 10
Cogi posse negat. Nestor componere lites
Inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden:
Hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque.
Quicquid delirant reges; plectuntur Achivi.
Seditione, dolis, scelere, atque libidine et ira, 15
Iliacos intra muros peccatur, et extra.
Rursus, quid virtus et quid sapientia possit,
Utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulyssem;

Qui, domitor Trojæ, multorum providus urbes
Et mores hominum inspexit; latumque per æquor, 20
Dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa
Pertulit, adversis rerum immersabilis undis.
Sirenum voces et Circæ pocula nôsti;
Quæ si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors, 25
Vixisset canis immundus, vel amica luto sus.
Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati,
Sponsi Penelopæ, nebulones, Alcinoique,
In cute curanda plus æquo operata juventus;
Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies, et 30
Ad strepitum citharæ cessatum ducere curam.
Ut jugulent hominem, surgunt de nocte latrones:
Ut teipsum serves, non expergisceris? atqui
Si noles sanus, curres hydropicus: et ni
Posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non 35
Intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis;
Invidia vel amore vigil torquebere. Nam cur
Quæ lædunt oculum, festinas demere; siquid
Est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
Dimidium facti, qui cœpit, habet: sapere aude; 40
Incipe: vivendi recte qui prorogat horam,
Rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis; at ille
Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.
Quæritur argentum, puerisque beata creandis
Uxor, et incultæ pacantur vomere silvæ. 45
Quod satis est cui contingit, nihil amplius optet.
Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus et auri
Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas. Valeat possessor oportet,
Si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti. 50
Qui cupit aut metuit, juvat illum sic domus, et res,
Ut lippum pictæ tabulæ, fomenta podagram,
Auriculas citharæ collecta sorde dolentes.
Sincerum est nisi vas; quodcumque infundis, acescit.

Sperne voluptates: nocet emta dolore voluptas, 55
Semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem.
Invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis:
Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
Majus tormentum. Qui non moderabitur iræ,
Infectum volet esse, dolor quod suaserit et mens, 60
Dum pœnas odio per vim festinat inulto.
Ira furor brevis est: animum rege; qui nisi paret,
Imperat: hunc frænis, hunc tu compesce catena.
Fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister
Ire, viam qua monstret eques. Venaticus, ex quo 65
Tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula,
Militat in silvis catulus. Nunc adbibe puro
Pectore verba puer, nunc te melioribus offer.
Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu. Quod si cessas, aut strenuus anteis, 70
Nec tardum opperior, nec præcedentibus insto.

EPISTOLA III.

AD JULIUM FLORUM.

Juli Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris
Claudius Augusti privignus, scire laboro.
Thracane vos, Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus,
An freta vicinas inter currentia turres,
An pingues Asiæ campi collesque morantur? 5
Quid studiosa cohors operum struit? Hæc quoque curo:
Quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?
Bella quis et paces longum diffundit in ævum?
Quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in ora,
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus, 10
Fastidire lacus, et rivos ausus apertos?
Ut valet? ut meminit nostri? fidibusne Latinis
Thebanos aptare modos studet, auspice Musa?
An tragica desævit et ampullatur in arte?

Quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus multumque monendus, 15
Privatas ut quærat opes, et tangere vitet
Scripta, Palatinus quæcumque recepit Apollo;
Ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
Grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
Furtivis nudata coloribus. Ipse quid audes? 20
Quæ circumvolitas agilis thyma? non tibi parvum
Ingenium, non incultum est, nec turpiter hirtum.
Seu linguam causis acuis, seu civica jura
Respondere paras, seu condis amabile carmen;
Prima feres hederæ victricis præmia: quod si 25
Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,
Quo te cœlestis sapientia duceret, ires.
Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
Si patriæ volumus, si nobis vivere cari.
Debes hoc etiam rescribere, si tibi curæ, 30
Quantæ conveniat, Munatius: an male sarta
Gratia nequicquam coit, et rescinditur? At vos
Seu calidus sanguis, seu rerum inscitia vexat,
Indomita cervice feros; ubicunque locorum
Vivitis, indigni fraternum rumpere fœdus, 35
Pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva juvenca.

EPISTOLA IV.

AD ALBIUM TIBULLUM.

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide judex,
Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
Scribere quod Cassî Parmensis opuscula vincat?
An tacitum silvas inter reptare salubres,
Curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est? 5
Non tu corpus eras sine pectore. Dii tibi formam,
Dii tibi divitias dederunt, artemque fruendi.
Quid voveat dulci nutricula majus alumno,

Qui sapere et fari possit quæ sentiat, et cui
Gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde, 10
Et mundus victus, non deficiente crumena?
Inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras,
Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:
Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora.
Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises, 15
Cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum.

EPISTOLA V.

AD TORQUATUM.

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis,
Nec modica cœnare times olus omne patella;
Supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.
Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa, palustres
Inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum. 5
Sin melius quid habes, arcesse, vel imperium fer.
Jamdudum splendet focus, et tibi munda supellex.
Mitte leves spes, et certamina divitiarum,
Et Moschi causam: cras nato Cæsare festus
Dat veniam somnumque dies; impune licebit 10
Æstivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.
Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?
Parcus ob hæredis curam nimiumque severus
Assidet insano. Potare et spargere flores
Incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi. 15
Quid non ebrietas designat? operta recludit;
Spes jubet esse ratas; in prœlia trudit inertem;
Solicitis animis onus eximit; addocet artes:
Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum? 20
Hæc ego procurare et idoneus imperor, et non
Invitus; ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa

Corruget nares; ne non et cantharus et lanx
Ostendat tibi te; ne fidos inter amicos
Sit qui dicta foras eliminet; ut coëat par 25
Jungaturque pari. Butram tibi, Septiciumque,
Et nisi cœna prior potiorque puella Sabinum
Detinet, assumam: locus est et pluribus umbris;
Sed nimis arcta premunt olidæ convivia capræ.
Tu quotus esse velis, rescribe; et rebus omissis 30
Atria servantem postico falle clientem.

EPISTOLA VI.

AD NUMICIUM.

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
Solaque, quæ possit facere et servare beatum.
Hunc solem, et stellas, et decedentia certis
Tempora momentis, sunt qui formidine nulla
Imbuti spectent: quid censes munera terræ? 5
Quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos?
Ludicra quid, plausus, et amici dona Quiritis?
Quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis et ore?
Qui timet his adversa, fere miratur eodem
Quo cupiens pacto: pavor est utrobique molestus: 10
Improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.
Gaudeat, an doleat; cupiat, metuatne; quid ad rem,
Si, quicquid vidit melius pejusve sua spe,
Defixis oculis, animoque et corpore torpet?
Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui, 15
Ultra quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.
I nunc, argentum, et marmor vetus, æraque et artes
Suspice, cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores:
Gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem:
Gnavus mane forum, et vespertinus pete tectum; 20
Ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
Mutus; et (indignum quod sit) pejoribus ortus,

Hic tibi sit potius, quam tu mirabilis illi.
Quicquid sub terra est, in apricum proferet ætas,
Defodiet condetque nitentia. Cum bene notum 25
Porticus Agrippæ, et via te conspexerit Appî,
Ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus.
Si latus aut renes morbo tentantur acuto,
Quære fugam morbi. Vis recte vivere? quis non?
Si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis 30
Hoc age deliciis. Virtutem verba putes, ut
Lucum ligna? cave ne portus occupet alter;
Ne Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas.
Mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera, porro et
Tertia succedant, et quæ pars quadret acervum. 35
Scilicet uxorem cum dote, fidemque, et amicos,
Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat:
Ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.
Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex:
Ne fueris hic tu. Chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt, 40
Si posset centum scenæ præbere rogatus,
Qui possum tot? ait: tamen et quæram, et quot habebo,
Mittam: post paulo scribit, sibi millia quinque
Esse domi chlamydum; partem, vel tolleret omnes.
Exilis domus est, ubi non et multa supersunt, 45
Et dominum fallunt, et prosunt furibus. Ergo
Si res sola potest facere et servare beatum,
Hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.
Si fortunatum species et gratia præstat,
Mercemur servum, qui dictet nomina, lævum 50
Qui fodicet latus, et cogat trans pondera dextram
Porrigere: Hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina;
Cui libet is fasces dabit, eripietque curule
Cui volet importunus ebur: Frater, Pater, adde;
Ut cuique est ætas, ita quemque facetus adopta. 55
Si, bene qui cœnat, bene vivit; lucet, eamus
Quo ducit gula: piscemur, venemur; ut olim
Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos,

Differtum transire forum populumque jubebat,
Unus ut e multis populo spectante referret 60
Emtum mulus aprum. Crudi tumidique lavemur,
Quid deceat, quid non, obliti, Cærite cera
Digni, remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulyssei,
Cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas.
Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore jocisque 65
Nil est jucundum; vivas in amore jocisque.
Vive, vale: siquid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

EPISTOLA VII.

AD MÆCENATEM.

Quinque dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum,
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. Atqui
Si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
Quam mihi das ægro, dabis ægrotare timenti,
Mæcenas, veniam; dum ficus prima calorque 5
Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris;
Dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet;
Officiosaque sedulitas, et opella forensis
Adducit febres, et testamenta resignat.
Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris, 10
Ad mare descendet vates tuus, et sibi parcet,
Contractusque leget; te, dulcis amice, reviset
Cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima.
Non quo more pyris vesci Calaber jubet hospes,
Tu me fecisti locupletem. ¶ Vescere sodes. 15
¶ Jam satis est. ¶ At tu quantumvis tolle. ¶ Benigne.
¶ Non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis.
¶ Tam teneor dono quam si dimittar onustus.
¶ Ut libet: hæc porcis hodie comedenda relinquis.—
Prodigus et stultus donat quæ spernit et odit. 20

Hæc seges ingratos tulit, et feret omnibus annis.
Vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus;
Nec tamen ignorat quid distent æra lupinis.
Dignum præstabo me etiam pro laude merentis.
Quod si me noles usquam discedere, reddes 25
Forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos;
Reddes dulce loqui; reddes ridere decorum, et
Inter vina fugam Cinaræ mœrere protervæ.
Forte per angustam tenuis nitedula rimam
Repserat in cumeram frumenti; pastaque rursus 30
Ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra:
Cui mustela procul, Si vis, ait, effugere istinc,
Macra cavum repetes arctum, quem macra subisti.
Hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno:
Nec somnum plebis laudo, satur altilium, nec 35
Otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.
Sæpe verecundum laudâsti; rexque paterque
Audisti coram; nec verbo parcius absens:
Inspice si possum donata reponere lætus.
Haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulyssei, 40
Non est aptus equis Ithace locus; ut neque planis
Porrectus spatiis, neque multæ prodigus herbæ:
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.
Parvum parva decent: mihi jam non regia Roma,
Sed vacuum Tibur placet, aut imbelle Tarentum. 45
Strenuus et fortis, causisque Philippus agendis
Clarus, ab officiis octavam circiter horam
Dum redit, atque Foro nimium distare Carinas
Jam grandis natu queritur, conspexit, ut aiunt,
Adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra, 50
Cultello proprios purgantem leniter ungues.
Demetri (puer hic non læve jussa Philippi
Accipiebat) abi; quære, et refer; unde domo; quis;
Cujus fortunæ; quo sit patre, quove patrono.
It, redit, et narrat; Vulteium nomine Menam, 55
Præconem, tenui censu, sine crimine notum;

Et properare loco et cessare, et quærere et uti,
Gaudentem parvisque sodalibus, et lare certo,
Et ludis, et post decisa negotia Campo.
Scitari libet ex ipso quæcunque refers: dic 60
Ad cœnam veniat. Non sane credere Mena:
Mirari secum tacitus. Quid multa? Benigne,
Respondet. ¶Neget ille mihi? ¶Negat improbus, et te
Negligit aut horret. ¶Vulteium mane Philippus
Vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello 65
Occupat, et salvere jubet prior. Ille Philippo
Excusare laborem, et mercenaria vincla,
Quod non mane domum venisset; denique quod non
Providisset eum. ¶Sic ignovisse putato
Me tibi, si cœnas hodie mecum. ¶Ut libet. ¶Ergo 70
Post nonam venies: nunc i, rem strenuus auge.—
Ut ventum ad cœnam est, dicenda tacenda locutus,
Tandem dormitum dimittitur. Hic, ubi sæpe
Occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum,
Mane cliens et jam certus conviva, jubetur 75
Rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis.
Impositus mannis, arvum cœlumque Sabinum
Non cessat laudare; videt ridetque Philippus:
Et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quærit,
Dum septem donat sestertia, mutua septem 80
Promittit, persuadet uti mercetur agellum.
Mercatur: ne te longis ambagibus ultra
Quam satis est morer; ex nitido fit rusticus, atque
Sulcos et vineta crepat mera, præparat ulmos,
Immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi. 85
Verum ubi oves furto, morbo periere capellæ,
Spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando;
Offensus damnis, media de nocte caballum
Arripit, iratusque Philippi tendit ad ædes:
Quem simul aspexit scabrum intonsumque Philippus, 90
Durus, ait, Vultei, nimis attentusque videris
Esse mihi. Pol, me miserum, patrone, vocares,

Si velles, inquit, verum mihi ponere nomen.
Quod te per Genium dextramque Deosque Penates
Obsecro et obtestor, vitæ me redde priori.— 95
Qui semel aspexit quantum dimissa petitis
Præstent, mature redeat, repetatque relicta.
Metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede, verum est.

EPISTOLA VIII.

AD CELSUM ALBINOVANUM.

Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano,
Musa rogata refer, comiti scribæque Neronis.
Si quæret quid agam; dic, multa et pulchra minantem,
Vivere nec recte, nec suaviter: haud quia grando
Contuderit vites, oleamve momorderit æstus, 5
Nec quia longinquis armentum ægrotet in agris;
Sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto,
Nil audire velim, nil dicere, quod levet ægrum;
Fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,
Cur me funesto properent arcere veterno; 10
Quæ nocuere sequar, fugiam quæ profore credam;
Romæ Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.
Post hæc, ut valeat, quo pacto rem gerat et se;
Ut placeat Juveni, percontare, utque cohorti.
Si dicet, Recte; primum gaudere; subinde 15
Præceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento;
Ut tu fortunam, sic nos te, Celse, feremus.

EPISTOLA IX.

AD CLAUDIUM NERONEM.

Septimius, Claudi, nimirum intelligit unus
Quanti me facias: nam cum rogat, et prece cogit,

Scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner,
Dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis;
Munere cum fungi propioris censet amici; 5
Quid possim, videt ac novit me valdius ipso.
Multa quidem dixi, cur excusatus abirem:
Sed timui, mea ne finxisse minora putarer,
Dissimulator opis propriæ, mihi commodus uni.
Sic ego, majoris fugiens opprobria culpæ, 10
Frontis ad urbanæ descendi præmia. Quod si
Depositum laudas ob amici jussa pudorem,
Scribe tui gregis hunc, et fortem crede bonumque.

EPISTOLA X.

AD FUSCUM ARISTIUM.

Urbis amatorem Fuscum salvere jubemus
Ruris amatores, hac in re scilicet una
Multum dissimiles, at cætera pene gemelli,
Fraternis animis, quicquid negat alter, et alter;
Annuimus pariter vetuli notique columbi. 5
Tu nidum servas, ego laudo ruris amœni
Rivos, et musco circumlita saxa, nemusque.
Quid quæris? vivo et regno, simul ista reliqui
Quæ vos ad cœlum effertis rumore secundo:
Utque sacerdotis fugitivus, liba recuso; 10
Pane egeo jam mellitis potiore placentis.
Vivere naturæ si convenienter oportet,
Ponendæque domo quærenda est area primum,
Novistine locum potiorem rure beato?
Est ubi plus tepeant hiemes? ubi gratior aura 15
Leniat et rabiem Canis, et momenta Leonis,
Cum semel accepit solem furibundus acutum?
Est ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura?
Deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
Purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum, 20

Quam quæ per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
Nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,
Laudaturque domus longos quæ prospicit agros.
Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret,
Et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix. 25
Non, qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
Nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum,
Certius accipiet damnum, propiusve medullis,
Quam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.
Quem res plus nimio delectavere secundæ, 30
Mutatæ quatient: siquid mirabere, pones
Invitus: fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
Reges et regum vita præcurrere amicos.
Cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
Pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo 35
Imploravit opes hominis, frænumque recepit:
Sed postquam violens victo discessit ab hoste,
Non equitem dorso, non frænum depulit ore.
Sic qui pauperiem veritus, potiore metallis
Libertate caret, dominum vehet improbus, atque 40
Serviet æternum; quia parvo nesciet uti.
Cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,
Si pede major erit, subvertet; si minor, uret.
Lætus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi:
Nec me dimittes incastigatum, ubi plura 45
Cogere quam satis est, ac non cessare videbor.
Imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,
Tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.
Hæc tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunæ,
Excepto quod non simul esses, cætera lætus. 50

EPISTOLA XI.

AD BULLATIUM.

Quid tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos?
Quid concinna Samos? quid Crœsi regia Sardis?

Smyrna quid, et Colophon? majora minorane fama?
Cunctaque præ Campo et Tiberino flumine sordent?
An venit in votum Attalicis ex urbibus una? 5
An Lebedum laudas, odio maris atque viarum?
Scis, Lebedus quid sit; Gabiis desertior atque
Fidenis vicus; tamen illic vivere vellem,
Oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis,
Neptunum procul e terra spectare furentem. 10
Sed neque qui Capua Romam petit, imbre lutoque
Aspersus, volet in caupona vivere; nec qui
Frigus collegit, furnos et balnea laudat,
Ut fortunatam plene præstantia vitam:
Nec, si te validus jactaverit Auster in alto, 15
Idcirco navem trans Ægæum mare vendas.
Incolumi Rhodos et Mitylene pulchra facit, quod
Pænula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris,
Per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.
Dum licet, et vultum servat Fortuna benignum, 20
Romæ laudetur Samos, et Chios, et Rhodos absens.
Tu quamcunque Deus tibi fortunaverit horam,
Grata sume manu; neu dulcia differ in annum;
Ut quocunque loco fueris, vixisse libenter
Te dicas: nam si ratio et prudentia curas, 25
Non locus, effusi late maris arbiter, aufert;
Cœlum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt;
Strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque
Quadrigis petimus bene vivere: quod petis, hic est;
Est Ulubris; animus si te non deficit æquus.

EPISTOLA XII.

AD ICCIUM.

Fructibus Agrippæ Siculis, quos colligis, Icci,
Si recte frueris, non est ut copia major
Ab Jove donari possit tibi: tolle querelas;
Pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus.

Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil 5
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus.
Si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis
Vivis et urtica, sic vives protinus, ut te
Confestim liquidus fortunæ rivus inauret:
Vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit; 10
Vel quia cuncta putas una virtute minora.
Miramur si Democriti pecus edit agellos
Cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox?
Cum tu inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri
Nil parvum sapias, et adhuc sublimia cures: 15
Quæ mare compescant causæ; quid temperet annum;
Stellæ sponte sua, jussæne vagentur et errent;
Quid premat obscurum Lunæ, quid proferat orbem;
Quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors;
Empedocles, an Stertinium deliret acumen. 20
Verum seu pisces, seu porrum et cæpe trucidas,
Utere Pompeio Grospho; et siquid petet, ultro
Defer: nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit et æquum.
Vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid de'st.
Ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res: 25
Cantaber Agrippæ, Claudî virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit: jus imperiumque Phraates
Cæsaris accepit genibus minor: aurea fruges
Italiæ pleno defudit Copia cornu.

EPISTOLA XIII.

AD VINIUM ASELLAM.

Ut proficiscentem docui te sæpe diuque,
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vini,
Si validus, si lætus erit, si denique poscet;
Ne studio nostri pecces, odiumque libellis
Sedulus importes, opera vehemente minister. 5
Si te forte meæ gravis uret sarcina chartæ,

Abjicito potius, quam quo perferre juberis
Clitellas ferus impingas, Asinæque paternum
Cognomen vertas in risum, et fabula fias.
Viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas: 10
Victor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc,
Sic positum servabis onus, ne forte sub ala
Fasciculum portes librorum, ut rusticus agnum;
Ut vinosa glomos furtivæ Pyrrhia lanæ;
Ut cum pileolo soleas conviva tribulis. 15
Ne vulgo narres te sudavisse ferendo
Carmina; quæ possint oculos auresque morari
Cæsaris: oratus multa prece, nitere porro.
Vade, vale, cave ne titubes, mandataque frangas.

EPISTOLA XIV.

AD VILLICUM SUUM.

Villice silvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,
Quem tu fastidis, habitatum quinque focis, et
Quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres;
Certemus spinas animone ego fortius, an tu
Evellas agro; et melior sit Horatius, an res. 5
Me quamvis Lamiæ pietas et cura moratur,
Fratrem mœrentis, rapto de fratre dolentis
Insolabiliter; tamen istuc mens animusque
Fert, et amat spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra.
Rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum: 10
Cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors.
Stultus uterque locum immeritum causatur inique;
In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam.
Tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas,
Nunc urbem et ludos et balnea villicus optas: 15
Me constare mihi scis, et discedere tristem,
Quandocunque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.
Non eadem miramur; eo disconvenit inter

Meque et te: nam, quæ deserta et inhospita tesqua
Credis, amœna vocat mecum qui sentit, et odit 20
Quæ tu pulchra putas. Fornix tibi et uncta popina
Incutiunt urbis desiderium, video; et quod
Angulus iste feret piper et tus ocius uva;
Nec vicina subest vinum præbere taberna
Quæ possit tibi; nec meretrix tibicina, cujus 25
Ad strepitum salias terræ gravis: et tamen urgues
Jampridem non tacta ligonibus arva, bovemque
Disjunctum curas, et strictis frondibus exples:
Addit opus pigro rivus, si decidit imber,
Multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato. 30
Nunc, age, quid nostrum concentum dividat, audi.
Quem tenues decuere togæ nitidique capilli,
Quem scis immunem Cinaræ placuisse rapaci,
Quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,
Cœna brevis juvat, et prope rivum somnus in herba: 35
Nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
Non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
Limat; non odio obscuro morsuque venenat:
Rident vicini glebas et saxa moventem.
Cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis; 40
Horum tu in numerum voto ruis: invidet usum
Lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus, et horti.
Optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus:
Quam scit uterque, libens, censebo, exerceat artem.

EPISTOLA XV.

AD NUMONIUM VALAM.

Quæ sit hiems Veliæ, quod cœlum, Vala, Salerni,
Quorum hominum regio, et qualis via: (nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis
Me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
Per medium frigus: sane murteta relinqui, 5

Dictaque cessantem nervis elidere morbum
Sulphura contemni, vicus gemit, invidus ægris,
Qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent
Clusinis, Gabiosque petunt, et frigida rura.
Mutandus locus est, et diversoria nota 10
Præteragendus equus: Quo tendis! non mihi Cumas
Est iter, aut Baias, læva stomachosus habena
Dicet eques; sed equi frænato est auris in ore:)—
Major utrum populum frumenti copia pascat;
Collectosne bibant imbres, puteosne perennes 15
Jugis aquæ; nam vina nihil moror illius oræ.
Rure meo possum quidvis perferre patique;
Ad mare cum veni, generosum et lene requiro;
Quod curas abigat, quod cum spe divite manet
In venas animumque meum, quod verba ministret, 20
Quod me Lucanæ juvenem commendet amicæ:—
Tractus uter plures lepores, uter educet apros:
Utra magis pisces et echinos æquora celent;
Pinguis ut inde domum possim Phæaxque reverti:—
Scribere te nobis, tibi nos, accredere par est. 25
Mænius, ut rebus maternis atque paternis
Fortiter absumtis, urbanus cœpit haberi,
Scurra vagus, non qui certum præsepe teneret,
Impransus non qui civem dignosceret hoste;
Quælibet in quemvis opprobria fingere sævus; 30
Pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli,
Quicquid quæsierat, ventri donabat avaro:
Hic ubi nequitiæ fautoribus et timidis nil
Aut paulum abstulerat, patinas cœnabat omasi,
Vilis et agninæ, tribus ursis quod satis esset; 35
Scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum
Diceret urendos, corrector Bestius. Idem
Si quid erat nactus prædæ majoris, ubi omne
Verterat in fumum et cinerem, Non hercule miror,
Aiebat, siqui comedunt bona; cum sit obeso 40
Nil melius turdo, nil vulva pulchrius ampla.

Nimirum hic ego sum: nam tuta et parvula laudo,
Cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis:
Verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
Vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum 45
Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.

EPISTOLA XVI.

AD QUINCTIUM.

NE perconteris, fundus meus, optime Quincti,
Arvo pascat herum, an baccis opulentet olivæ,
Pomisne, an pratis, an amicta vitibus ulmo:
Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter, et situs agri.
Continui montes, nisi dissocientur opaca 5
Valle; sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol,
Lævum decedens curru fugiente vaporet.
Temperiem laudes. Quid si rubicunda benigne
Corna vepres et pruna ferunt? si quercus et ilex
Multa fruge pecus, multa dominum juvat umbra? 10
Dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
Frigidior Thracam, nec purior ambiat Hebrus;
Infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
Hæ latebræ dulces, etiam, si credis, amœnæ, 15
Incolumem tibi me præstant Septembribus horis.
Tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis:
Jactamus jampridem omnis te Roma beatum;
Sed vereor ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas,
Neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum, 20
Neu, si te populus sanum recteque valentem
Dictitet, occultam febrem sub tempus edendi
Dissimules, donec manibus tremor incidat unctis.
STULTORUM incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.
Siquis bella tibi terra pugnata marique 25

Dicat, et his verbis vacuas permulceat aures;
"Tene magis salvum populus velit, an populum tu,
"Servet in ambiguo, qui consulit et tibi et urbi,
"Jupiter"; Augusti laudes agnoscere possis.
Cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari, 30
Respondesne tuo, dic sodes, nomine? ¶ Nempe
Vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu.
¶ Qui dedit hoc hodie, cras, si volet, auferet; ut si
Detulerit fasces indigno, detrahet idem.
Pone, meum est, inquit: pono tristisque recedo. 35
Idem si clamet furem, neget esse pudicum,
Contendat laqueo collum pressisse paternum,
Mordear opprobriis falsis, mutemque colores?
Falsus honor juvat, et mendax infamia terret,
Quem, nisi mendosum et medicandum? Vir bonus est quis?
Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat; 41
Quo multæ magnæque secantur judice lites;
Quo res sponsore et quo causæ teste tenentur:
Sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota
Introrsus turpem, speciosum pelle decora. 45
Nec furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicat
Servus: Habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio.
¶ Non hominem occidi: ¶ Non pasces in cruce corvos.
¶ Sum bonus, et frugi: ¶ Renuit negitatque Sabellus:
Cautus enim metuit foveam lupus, accipiterque 50
Suspectos laqueos, et opertum milüus hamum.
Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore;
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine pœnæ:
Sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis.
Nam de mille fabæ modiis cum surripis unum, 55
Damnum est, non facinus mihi pacto lenius isto.
Vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal,
Quandocunque Deos vel porco vel bove placat,
Jane pater, clare, clare cum dixit, Apollo:
Labra movet, metuens audiri: Pulchra Laverna, 60
Da mihi fallere, da justo sanctoque videri;

Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem.
Quî melior servo, quî liberior sit avarus,
In triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem,
Non video: nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque; porro 65
Qui metuens vivet, liber mihi non erit unquam.
Perdidit arma, locum virtutis deseruit, qui
Semper in augenda festinat et obruitur re.
Vendere cum possis captivum, occidere noli:
Serviet utiliter: sine pascat durus, aretque; 70
Naviget ac mediis hiemet mercator in undis;
Annonæ prosit; portet frumenta penusque.
Vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere; Pentheu,
Rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique 74
Indignum coges? ¶ Adimam bona. ¶ Nempe pecus, rem,
Lectos, argentum: tollas licet. ¶ In manicis et
Compedibus sævo te sub custode tenebo.
¶ Ipse Deus, simul atque volam, me solvet.—Opinor,
Hoc sentit: Moriar; mors ultima linea rerum est.

EPISTOLA XVII.

AD SCÆVAM.

Quamvis, Scæva, satis per te tibi consulis, et scis
Quo tandem pacto deceat majoribus uti;
Disce, docendus adhuc quæ censet amiculus; ut si
Cæcus iter monstrare velit: tamen aspice, si quid
Et nos, quod cures proprium fecisse, loquamur. 5
Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam
Delectat; si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
Si lædit caupona, Ferentinum ire jubebo:
Nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis;
Nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit. 10
Si prodesse tuis, pauloque benignius ipsum
Te tractare voles, accedes siccus ad unctum.

¶ Si pranderet olus patienter, regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus. ¶ Si sciret regibus uti,
Fastidiret olus, qui me notat. ¶ Utrius horum 15
Verba probes et facta, doce ; vel junior audi,
Cur sit Aristippi potior sententia : namque
Mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat, ut ajunt :
¶ Scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu : rectius hoc et
Splendidius multo est. Equus ut me portet, alat rex, 20
Officium facio : tu poscis vilia rerum
Dante minor, quamvis fers te nullius egentem.—
Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res
Tentantem majora, fere præsentibus æquum.
Contra, quem duplici panno patientia velat, 25
Mirabor, vitæ via si conversa decebit.
Alter purpureum non exspectabit amictum,
Quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca vadet,
Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque :
Alter Mileti textam cane pejus et angue 30
Vitabit chlamydem ; morietur frigore, si non
Retuleris pannum : refer, et sine vivat ineptus,
Res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostes,
Attingit solium Jovis, et cœlestia tentat :
Principibus placuisse viris, non ultima laus est. 35
Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.
Sedit qui timuit ne non succederet : esto :
Quid, qui pervenit, fecitne viriliter ? Atqui
Hic est, aut nusquam, quod quærimus : hic onus horret,
Ut parvis animis et parvo corpore majus ; 40
Hic subit, et perfert. Aut virtus nomen inane est,
Aut decus et pretium recte petit experiens vir.
Coram rege sua de paupertate tacentes
Plus poscente ferent : distat, sumasne pudenter,
An rapias : atqui rerum caput hoc erat, hic fons. 45
" Indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater,
" Et fundus nec vendibilis, nec pascere firmus,"
Qui dicit, clamat, " Victum date" : succinit alter,

"Et mihi dividuo findetur munere quadra."
Sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet 50
Plus dapis, et rixæ multo minus invidiæque.
Brundusium comes aut Surrentum ductus amœnum,
Qui queritur salebras, et acerbum frigus, et imbres,
Aut cistam effractam aut subducta viatica plorat,
Nota refert meretricis acumina, sæpe catellam, 55
Sæpe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis; uti mox
Nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adsit.
Nec semel irrisus triviis attollere curat
Fracto crure planum: licet illi plurima manet
Lacrima; per sanctum juratus dicat Osirim, 60
Credite, non ludo; crudeles tollite claudum:
Quære peregrinum, vicinia rauca reclamat.

EPISTOLA XVIII.

AD LOLLIUM.

Si bene te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli,
Scurrantis speciem præbere, professus amicum.
Ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque
Discolor, infido scurræ distabit amicus.
Est huic diversum vitio vitium prope majus, 5
Asperitas agrestis, et inconcinna, gravisque,
Quæ se commendat tonsâ cute, dentibus atris;
Dum vult libertas dici mera, veraque virtus.
Virtus est medium vitiorum, et utrinque reductum.
Alter, in obsequium plus æquo pronus, et imi 10
Derisor lecti, sic nutum divitis horret,
Sic iterat voces, et verba cadentia tollit,
Ut puerum sævo credas dictata magistro
Reddere, vel partes mimum tractare secundas:
Alter, rixator, de lana sæpe caprina 15
Propugnat nugis armatus: Scilicet, ut non
Sit mihi prima fides, et vere quod placet ut non

Acriter elatrem, pretium ætas altera sordet.
Ambigitur quid enim? Castor sciat an Dolichos plus;
Brundusium Minucî melius via ducat, an Appî. 20
Quem damnosa Venus, quem præceps alea nudat,
Gloria quem supra vires et vestit et unguit,
Quem tenet argenti sitis importuna famesque,
Quem paupertatis pudor et fuga, dives amicus,
Sæpe decem vitiis instructior, odit et horret: 25
Aut, si non odit, regit: ac, veluti pia mater,
Plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem
Vult: et ait prope vera; Meæ (contendere noli)
Stultitiam patiuntur opes; tibi parvula res est:
Arcta decet sanum comitem toga; desine mecum 30
Certare. Eutrapelus cuicunque nocere volebat,
Vestimenta dabat pretiosa: beatus enim jam
Cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia, et spes;
Dormiet in lucem; scorto postponet honestum
Officium; nummos alienos pascet; ad imum 35
Threx erit, aut olitoris aget mercede caballum.
Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius unquam;
Commissumque teges, et vino tortus et ira.
Nec tua laudabis studia, aut aliena reprendes;
Nec, cum venari volet ille, poëmata panges. 40
Gratia sic fratrum geminorum, Amphionis atque
Zethi, dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
Conticuit lyra; fraternis cessisse putatur
Moribus Amphion: tu cede potentis amici
Lenibus imperiis; quotiesque educet in agros 45
Ætolis onerata plagis jumenta canesque,
Surge, et inhumanæ senium depone Camœnæ,
Cœnes ut pariter pulmenta laboribus emta;
Romanis solenne viris opus, utile famæ,
Vitæque et membris; præsertim cum valeas, et 50
Vel cursu superare canem vel viribus aprum
Possis: adde, virilia quod speciosius arma
Non est qui tractet; scis quo clamore coronæ

Prœlia sustineas campestria: denique sævam
Militiam puer et Cantabrica bella tulisti, 55
Sub duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit
Nunc, et siquid abest, Italis adjudicat armis.
Ac, ne te retrahas et inexcusabilis abstes,
Quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque
Curas, interdum nugaris rure paterno: 60
Partitur lintres exercitus; Actia pugna
Te duce per pueros hostili more refertur;
Adversarius est frater; lacus, Adria; donec
Alterutrum velox victoria fronde coronet.
Consentire suis studiis qui crediderit te, 65
Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.
Protinus ut moneam (siquid monitoris eges tu)
Quid, de quo-que viro, et cui dicas, sæpe videto.
Percontatorem fugito: nam garrulus idem est;
Nec retinent patulæ commissa fideliter aures; 70
Et semel emissum volat inrevocabile verbum.
Non ancilla tuum jecur ulceret ulla, puerve,
Intra marmoreum venerandi limen amici:
Ne dominus pueri pulchri caræve puellæ
Munere te parvo beet, aut incommodus angat. 75
Qualem commendes, etiam atque etiam aspice; ne mox
Incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.
Fallimur, et quondam non dignum tradimus: ergo
Quem sua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri;
Ut, penitus notum si tentent crimina, serves, 80
Tuterisque tuo fidentem præsidio: qui
Dente Theonino cum circumroditur, ecquid
Ad te post paulo ventura pericula sentis?
Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet;
Et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires. 85
Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici,
Expertus metuit. Tu, dum tua navis in alto est,
Hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura.
Oderunt hilarem tristes, tristemque jocosi,

Sedatum celeres, agilem gnavumque remissi; 90
Potores liquidi media de luce Falerni
Oderunt porrecta negantem pocula; quamvis
Nocturnos jures te formidare vapores.
Deme supercilio nubem: plerumque modestus
Occupat obscuri speciem, taciturnus acerbi. 95
Inter cuncta leges et percunctabere doctos,
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,
Ne te semper-inops agitet vexetque cupido,
Ne pavor et rerum mediocriter utilium spes:
Virtutem doctrina paret, naturane donet; 100
Quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum;
Quid pure tranquillet, honos, an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter, et fallentis semita vitæ.
Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus, 105
Quid sentire putas? quid credis, amice, precari?
Sit mihi quod nunc est; etiam minus: et mihi vivam
Quod superest ævi, siquid superesse volunt Dii:
Sit bona librorum et provisæ frugis in annum
Copia; neu fluitem dubiæ spe pendulus horæ. 110
Sed satis est orare Jovem quæ donat et aufert:
Det vitam, det opes: æquum mi animum ipse parabo.

EPISTOLA XIX.

AD MÆCENATEM.

Prisco si credis, Mæcenas docte, Cratino,
Nulla placere diu, nec vivere carmina possunt,
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus: ut male sanos
Ascripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poëtas,
Vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camœnæ. 5
Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus:
Ennius ipse pater nunquam nisi potus ad arma

Prosiluit dicenda. "Forum putealque Libonis
"Mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis."
Hoc simul edixi, non cessavere poëtæ 10
Nocturno certare mero, putere diurno.
Quid? siquis vultu torvo ferus, et pede nudo,
Exiguæque togæ simulet textore Catonem,
Virtutemne repræsentet moresque Catonis?
Rupit Iarbitam Timagenis æmula lingua, 15
Dum studet urbanus, tenditque disertus haberi.
Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile: quod si
Pallerem casu, biberent exsangue cuminum.
O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi bilem,
Ut mihi sæpe jocum vestri movere tumultus! 20
Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps;
Non aliena meo pressi pede: qui sibi fidit,
Dux regit examen. Parios ego primus iambos
Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben. 25
Ac, ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes,
Quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
Temperat Archilochi musam pede mascula Sappho,
Temperat Alcæus; sed rebus et ordine dispar,
Nec socerum quærit quem versibus oblinat atris, 30
Nec sponsæ laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
Hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
Vulgavi fidicen: juvat immemorata ferentem
Ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.
Scire velis mea cur ingratus opuscula lector 35
Laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus?
Non ego ventosæ plebis suffragia venor
Impensis cœnarum et tritæ munere vestis;
Non ego nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor,
Grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor: 40
Hinc illæ lacrymæ. Spissis indigna theatris
Scripta pudet recitare, et nugis addere pondus,

Si dixi; Rides, ait, et Jovis auribus ista
Servas: fidis enim manare poëtica mella
Te solum, tibi pulcher. Ad hæc ego naribus uti 45
Formido: et, luctantis acuto ne secer ungui,
Displicet iste locus, clamo, et diludia posco.
Ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,
Ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.

EPISTOLA XX.

AD LIBRUM SUUM.

Vertumnum Janumque, liber, spectare videris;
Scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.
Odisti claves, et grata sigilla pudico:
Paucis ostendi gemis, et communia laudas,
Non ita nutritus. Fuge quo descendere gestis: 5
Non erit emisso reditus tibi. Quid miser egi?
Quid volui? dices, ubi quid te læserit, et scis
In breve te cogi, plenus cum languet amator.
Quod si non odio peccantis desipit augur,
Carus eris Romæ, donec te deserat ætas. 10
Contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi
Cœperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertes,
Aut fugies Uticam, aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.
Ridebit monitor non exauditus; ut ille
Qui male parentem in rupes protrusit asellum 15
Iratus: quis enim invitum servare laboret?
Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
Cum tibi sol tepidus plures admoverit aures,
Me libertino natum patre et in tenui re 20
Majores pennas nido extendisse loqueris;
Ut quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas:

Me primis urbis belli placuisse domique,
Corporis exigui, præcanum, solibus aptum,
Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem. 25
Forte meum siquis te percontabitur ævum,
Me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres,
Collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMEN SÆCULARE.

(METRUM XVIII.)

PHŒBE silvarumque potens Diana,
Lucidum cœli decus, O colendi
Semper et culti, date quæ precamur
    Tempore prisco;
Quo Sibyllini monuere versus, 5
Virgines lectas, puerosque castos,
Diis, quibus septem placuere colles,
    Dicere carmen.
Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis et celas, aliusque et idem 10
Nasceris; possis nihil urbe Roma
    Visere majus.
Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis Ilithyia, tuere matres;
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari, 15
    Seu Genitalis.
Diva, producas subolem, patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Fœminis, prolisque novæ feraci
    Lege marita: 20
Certus undenos decies per annos
Orbis ut cantus referatque ludos,
Ter die claro, totiesque grata
    Nocte, frequentes.
Vosque veraces cecinisse Parcæ, 25
Quod semel dictum est, stabilisque rerum
Terminus servat; bona jam peractis
    Jungite fata.

Fertilis frugum pecorisque Tellus
Spicea donet Cererem corona: 30
Nutriant fœtus et aquæ salubres
    Et Jovis auræ.
Condito mitis placidusque telo
Supplices audi pueros, Apollo;
Siderum regina bicornis audi, 35
    Luna, puellas:
Roma si vestrum est opus, Iliæque
Littus Etruscum tenuere turmæ,
Jussa pars mutare Lares et urbem,
    Sospite cursu; 40
Cui per ardentem sine fraude Trojam
Castus Æneas, patriæ superstes,
Liberum munivit iter, daturus
    Plura relictis:
Dii probos mores docili juventæ, 45
Dii senectuti placidæ quietem,
Romulæ genti date remque prolemque
    Et decus omne.
Quique vos bubus veneratur albis
Clarus Anchisæ Venerisque sanguis, 50
Imperet, bellante prior, jacentem
    Lenis in hostem.
Jam mari terraque manus potentes
Medus Albanasque timet secures:
Jam Scythæ responsa petunt, superbi 55
    Nuper, et Indi.
Jam Fides, et Pax, et Honor, Pudorque
Priscus, et neglecta redire Virtus
Audet; apparetque beata pleno
    Copia cornu. 60
Augur et fulgente decorus arcu
Phœbus, acceptusque novem Camœnis,
Qui salutari levat arte fessos
    Corporis artus,

Si Palatinas videt æquus aras, 65
Remque Romanam Latiumque felix
Alterum in lustrum meliusque semper
    Proroget ævum.
Quæque Aventinum tenet Algidumque,
Quindecim Diana preces virorum 70
Curet, et votis puerorum amicas
    Applicet aures.
Hæc Jovem sentire Deosque cunctos,
Spem bonam certamque domum reporto,
Doctus et Phœbi chorus et Dianæ 75
    Dicere laudes.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIBER QUARTUS.

ODE I. (M. XV.)

AD VENEREM.

Intermissa, Venus, diu,
  Rursus bella moves? Parce, precor, precor.
Non sum qualis eram bonæ
  Sub regno Cinaræ. Desine, dulcium
Mater sæva Cupidinum, 5
  Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Jam durum imperiis. Abi
  Quo blandæ juvenum te revocant preces.
Tempestivius in domum
  Pauli, purpureis ales oloribus, 10
Comissabere Maximi,
  Si torrere jecur quæris idoneum.
Namque et nobilis et decens
  Et pro solicitis non tacitus reis,
Et centum puer artium, 15
  Late signa feret militiæ tuæ.
Et quandoque potentior
  Largis muneribus riserit æmuli,
Albanos prope te lacus
  Ponet marmoream, sub trabe citrea. 20
Illic plurima naribus
  Duces tura, lyræque et Berecyntiæ
Delectabere tibiæ
  Mistis carminibus, non sine fistula.
Illic bis pueri die 25
  Numen cum teneris virginibus tuum

Laudantes, pede candido
In morem Saliûm, ter quatient humum.
Me nec fœmina, nec puer
Jam, nec spes animi credula mutui, 30
Nec certare juvat mero,
Nec vincire novis tempora floribus.
Sed cur, heu! Ligurine, cur
Manat rara meas lacrima per genas?
Cur facunda parum decoro 35
Inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
Nocturnis ego somniis
Jam captum teneo: jam volucrem sequor
Te per gramina Martii
Campi; te per aquas, dure, volubiles. 40

ODE II. (M. XVIII.)

AD ANTONIUM IULUM.

PINDARUM quisquis studet æmulari,
Jule, ceratis ope Dædalea
Nititur pennis, vitreo daturus
Nomina ponto.
Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres 5
Quem super notas aluere ripas,
Fervet immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore,
Laurea donandus Apollinari,
Seu per audaces nova Dithyrambos 10
Verba devolvit, numerisque fertur
Lege solutis;
Seu Deos, regesve canit, Deorum
Sanguinem, per quos cecidere justa
Morte Centauri, cecidit tremendæ 15
Flamma Chimæræ;

Sive, quos Elea domum reducit
Palma cœlestes, pugilemve equumve
Dicit, et centum potiore signis
    Munere donat; 20
Flebili sponsæ juvenemve raptum
Plorat; et vires animumque moresque
Aureos educit in astra, nigroque
    Invidet Orco.
Multa Dircæum levat aura cycnum, 25
Tendit, Antoni, quoties in altos
Nubium tractus: ego, apis Matinæ
    More modoque
Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum, circa nemus uvidique 30
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
    Carmina fingo.
Concines majore Poeta plectro
Cæsarem, quandoque trahet feroces
Per Sacrum clivum, merita decorus 35
    Fronde, Sicambros;
Quo nihil majus meliusve terris
Fata donavere, bonique Divi;
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
    Tempora priscum. 40
Concines lætosque dies, et urbis
Publicum ludum, super impetrato
Fortis Augusti reditu, forumque
    Litibus orbum.
Tum meæ (siquid loquar audiendum) 45
Vocis accedet bona pars; et, O Sol
Pulcher, O laudande, canam, recepto
    Cæsare felix.
Isque dum procedit, *Io Triumphe!*
Non semel dicemus, *Io Triumphe!* 50
Civitas omnis; dabimusque Divis
    Tura benignis.

Te decem tauri totidemque vaccæ,
Me tener solvet vitulus relicta
Matre, qui largis juvenescit herbis 55
In mea vota,
Fronte curvatos imitatus ignes
Tertium Lunæ referentis ortum,
Qua notam duxit, niveus videri,
Cætera fulvus. 60

ODE III. (M. XV.)

AD MELPOMENEN.

Quem tu Melpomene semel
Nascentem placido lumine videris,
Illum non labor Isthmius
Clarabit pugilem, non equus impiger
Curru ducet Achaico 5
Victorem; neque res bellica Deliis
Ornatum foliis ducem,
Quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,
Ostendet Capitolio;
Sed quæ Tibur aquæ fertile præfluunt, 10
Et spissæ nemorum comæ,
Fingent Æolio carmine nobilem.
Romæ principis urbium
Dignatur suboles inter amabiles
Vatum ponere me choros; 15
Et jam dente minus mordeor invido.
O testudinis aureæ
Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas!
O mutis quoque piscibus
Donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum! 20
Totum muneris hoc tui est,
Quod monstror digito prætereuntium,
Romanæ fidicen lyræ:
Quod spiro et placeo (si placeo), tuum est.

ODE IV. (M. XIX.)

QUALEM ministrum fulminis alitem
(Cui rex Deorum regnum in aves vagas
Permisit, expertus fidelem
Jupiter in Ganymede flavo)
Olim juventas et patrius vigor 5
Nido laborum propulit inscium,
Vernique, jam nimbis remotis,
Insolitos docuere nisus
Venti paventem; mox in ovilia
Demisit hostem vividus impetus; 10
Nunc in reluctantes dracones
Egit amor dapis atque pugnæ:
Qualemve lætis caprea pascuis
Intenta, fulvæ matris ab ubere
Jam lacte depulsum leonem, 15
Dente novo peritura, vidit:
Videre Rhætis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici; quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia securi 20
Dextras obarmet, quærere distuli,
Nec scire fas est omnia: sed diu
Lateque victrices catervæ,
Consiliis juvenis repressæ,
Sensere quid mens rite, quid indoles 25
Nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
Posset, quid Augusti paternus
In pueros animus Nerones.
FORTES creantur fortibus; et bonis
Est in juvencis, est in equis patrum 30
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.
Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam;
Rectique cultus pectora roborant:

Utcunque defecere mores, 35
Indecorant bene nata culpæ.
Quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus,
Testis Metaurum flumen, et Asdrubal
Devictus, et pulcher fugatis
Ille dies Latio tenebris, 40
Qui primus alma risit adorea,
Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas,
Ceu flamma per tædas, vel Eurus
Per Siculas equitavit undas.
Post hoc secundis usque laboribus 45
Romana pubes crevit; et impio
Vastata Pœnorum tumultu
Fana Deos habuere rectos:
Dixitque tandem perfidus Annibal,
Cervi, luporum præda rapacium, 50
Sectamur ultro quos opimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphus.
Gens, quæ cremato fortis ab Ilio
Jactata Tuscis æquoribus sacra
Natosque maturosque patres 55
Pertulit Ausonias ad urbes,
Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro. 60
Non Hydra secto corpore firmior
Vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem;
Monstrumve summisere Colchi
Majus, Echioniæve Thebæ.
Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit: 65
Luctere, multa proruet integrum
Cum laude victorem, geretque
Prœlia conjugibus loquenda.
Carthagini jam non ego nuntios
Mittam superbos; occidit, occidit 70

Spes omnis, et fortuna nostri
Nominis, Asdrubale interempto.
Nil Claudiæ non perficient manus,
Quas et benigno numine Jupiter
Defendit, et curæ sagaces 75
Expediunt per acuta belli.

ODE V. (M. XVI.)

AD AUGUSTUM.

Divis orte bonis, optime Romulæ
Custos gentis, abes jam nimium diu;
Maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
Sancto concilio, redi.
Lucem redde tuæ, dux bone, patriæ; 5
Instar veris enim vultus ubi tuus
Affulsit populo, gratior it dies,
Et soles melius nitent.
Ut mater juvenem, quem Notus invido
Flatu Carpathii trans maris æquora 10
Cunctantem spatio longius annuo
Dulci distinet a domo,
Votis ominibusque et precibus vocat,
Curvo nec faciem littore dimovet:
Sic desideriis icta fidelibus 15
Quærit patria Cæsarem.
Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat;
Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque Faustitas;
Pacatum volitant per mare navitæ;
Culpari metuit Fides; 20
Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris;
Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas;
Laudantur simili prole puerperæ;
Culpam Pœna premit comes.
Quis Parthum paveat? quis gelidum Scythen? 25

Quis Germania quos horrida parturit
Fœtus, incolumi Cæsare? quis feræ
Bellum curet Iberiæ?
Condit quisque diem collibus in suis,
Et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores; 30
Hinc ad vina redit lætus, et alteris
Te mensis adhibet Deum:
Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
Defuso pateris; et Laribus tuum
Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris, 35
Et magni memor Herculis.
Longas O utinam, dux bone, ferias
Præstes Hesperiæ, dicimus integro
Sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi,
Cum sol Oceano subest. 40

ODE VI. (M. XVIII.)

AD APOLLINEM.

Dive, quem proles Niobæa magnæ
Vindicem linguæ, Tityosque raptor
Sensit, et Trojæ prope victor altæ
Phthius Achilles,
Cæteris major, tibi miles impar; 5
Filius quamquam Thetidos marinæ
Dardanas turres quateret tremenda
Cuspide pugnax.
Ille, mordaci velut icta ferro
Pinus, aut impulsa cupressus Euro, 10
Procidit late, posuitque collum in
Pulvere Teucro.
Ille non inclusus equo Minervæ
Sacra mentito male feriatos
Troas et lætam Priami choreis 15
Falleret aulam:

Sed palam captis gravis (heu nefas! heu!)
Nescios fari pueros Achivis
Ureret flammis, etiam latentem
Matris in alvo: 20
Ni tuis victus Venerisque gratæ
Vocibus Divûm pater adnuisset
Rebus Æneæ potiore ductos
Alite muros.
Doctor Argivæ Fidicen Thaliæ, 25
Phœbe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines,
Dauniæ defende decus Camœnæ,
Levis Agyieu.
Spiritum Phœbus mihi, Phœbus artem
Carminis nomenque dedit Poetæ. 30
Virginum primæ, puerique claris
Patribus orti
Deliæ tutela Deæ, fugaces
Lyncas et cervos cohibentis arcu,
Lesbium servate pedem, meique 35
Pollicis ictum;
Rite Latonæ puerum canentes,
Rite crescentem face Noctilucam,
Prosperam frugum, celeremque pronos
Volvere menses. 40
Nupta jam dices, Ego Diis amicum,
Sæculo festas referente luces,
Reddidi carmen, docilis modorum
Vatis Horati.

ODE VII. (M. IX.)

AD TORQUATUM.

Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis,
Arboribusque comæ:

Mutat terra vices, et decrescentia ripas
Flumina prætereunt:
Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet 5
Ducere nuda choros.
IMMORTALIA ne speres, monet annus, et almum
Quæ rapit hora diem.
Frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit æstas
Interitura, simul 10
Pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
Bruma recurrit iners.
Damna tamen celeres reparant cœlestia lunæ:
Nos ubi decidimus
Quo pius Æneas, quo dives Tullus et Ancus, 15
Pulvis et umbra sumus.
QUIS SCIT an adjiciant hodiernæ crastina summæ
Tempora Dii superi?
Cuncta manus avidas fugient hæredis, amico
Quæ dederis animo. 20
Cum semel occideris, et de te splendida Minos
Fecerit arbitria,
Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
Restituet pietas:
Infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum 25
Liberat Hippolytum;
Nec Lethæa valet Theseus abrumpere caro
Vincula Pirithoo.

ODE VIII. (M. XIV.)

AD CENSORINUM.

DONAREM pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis æra sodalibus:
Donarem tripodas, præmia fortium

Graiorum; neque tu pessima munerum
Ferres, divite me scilicet artium, 5
Quas aut Parrhasius protulit, aut Scopas;
Hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
Sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc Deum.
Sed non hæc mihi vis: nec tibi talium
Res est aut animus deliciarum egens. 10
Gaudes carminibus: carmina possumus
Donare, et pretium dicere muneris.
Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
Per quæ spiritus et vita redit bonis
Post mortem ducibus; non celeres fugæ, 15
Rejectæque retrorsum Annibalis minæ;
Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ,
Ejus qui domita nomen ab Africa
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides: neque, 20
Si chartæ sileant quod bene feceris,
Mercedem tuleris. Quid foret Iliæ
Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
Obstaret meritis invida Romuli?
Ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Æacum 25
Virtus et favor et lingua potentium
Vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
DIGNUM laude virum Musa vetat mori,
Cœlo Musa beat. Sic Jovis interest
Optatis epulis impiger Hercules: 30
Clarum Tyndaridæ sidus ab infimis
Quassas eripiunt æquoribus rates:
Ornatus viridi tempora pampino
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

ODE IX. (M. XIX.)

AD LOLLIUM.

Ne forte credas interitura, quæ
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
  Non ante vulgatas per artes
    Verba loquor socianda chordis:
Non, si priores Mæonius tenet 5
Sedes Homerus, Pindaricæ latent,
  Cææque, et Alcæi minaces,
    Stesichorique graves Camœnæ.
Nec, siquid olim lusit Anacreon,
Delevit ætas: spirat adhuc amor, 10
  Vivuntque commissi calores
    Æoliæ fidibus puellæ.
Non sola comtos arsit adulteri
Crines, et aurum vestibus illitum
  Mirata, regalesque cultus 15
    Et comites, Helene Lacæna;
Primusve Teucer tela Cydonio
Direxit arcu: non semel Ilios
  Vexata: non pugnavit ingens
    Idomeneus Sthenelusque solus 20
Dicenda Musis prœlia: non ferox
Hector, vel acer Deiphobus graves
  Excepit ictus pro pudicis
    Conjugibus puerisque primus.
Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona 25
Multi; sed omnes illacrymabiles
  Urguentur ignotique longa
    Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.
PAULUM sepultæ distat inertiæ
Celata virtus: non ego te meis 30
  Chartis inornatum silebo,
    Totve tuos patiar labores

Impune, Lolli, carpere lividas
Obliviones. Est animus tibi
Rerumque prudens, et secundis 35
Temporibus dubiisque rectus;
Vindex avaræ fraudis, et abstinens
Ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniæ;
Consulque non unius anni,
Sed quoties bonus atque fidus 40
Judex honestum prætulit utili, et
Rejecit alto dona nocentium
Vultu, et per obstantes catervas
Explicuit sua victor arma.
Non possidentem multa vocaveris 45
Recte beatum; rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui Deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,
Duramque callet pauperiem pati;
Pejusque leto flagitium timet: 50
Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patria timidus perire.

ODE X. (M. XIII.)

AD LIGURINUM.

O crudelis adhuc, et Veneris muneribus potens,
Insperata tuæ cum veniet pluma superbiæ,
Et, quæ nunc humeris involitant, deciderint comæ,
Nunc et qui color est puniceæ flore prior rosæ,
Mutatus Ligurinum in faciem verterit hispidam: 5
Dices, Heu! (quoties te in speculo videris alterum)
Quæ mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit?
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ?

ODE XI. (M. XVIII.)

AD PHYLLIDEM.

Est mihi nonum superantis annum
Plenus Albani cadus; est in horto,
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis;
    Est hederæ vis
Multa, qua crines religata fulges: 5
Ridet argento domus: ara castis
Vincta verbenis avet immolato
    Spargier agno:
Cuncta festinat manus: huc et illuc
Cursitant mistæ pueris puellæ: 10
Sordidum flammæ trepidant rotantes
    Vertice fumum.
Ut tamen nôris quibus advoceris
Gaudiis; Idus tibi sunt agendæ,
Qui dies mensem Veneris marinæ 15
    Findit, Aprilem;
Jure solennis mihi, sanctiorque
Pene natali proprio, quod ex hac
Luce Mæcenas meus affluentes
    Ordinat annos. 20
Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit
(Non tuæ sortis juvenem) puella
Dives et lasciva: tenetque grata
    Compede vinctum.
Terret ambustus Phaethon avaras 25
Spes; et exemplum grave præbet ales
Pegasus, terrenum equitem gravatus
    Bellerophonten,
Semper ut te digna sequare; et, ultra
Quam licet sperare nefas putando, 30
Disparem vites: age jam meorum
    Finis amorum,

(Non enim posthac alia calebo
Fœmina,) condisce modos amanda
Voce quos reddas: minuuntur atræ 35
Carmine curæ.

ODE XII. (M. XVI.)

AD VIRGILIUM.

JAM veris comites, quæ mare temperant.
Impellunt animæ lintea Thraciæ:
Jam nec prata rigent, nec fluvii strepunt
Hiberna nive turgidi.
Nidum ponit, Ityn flebiliter gemens, 5
Infelix avis, et Cecropiæ domus
Æternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
Regum est ulta libidines.
Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
Custodes ovium carmina fistula, 10
Delectant que Deum, cui pecus et nigri
Colles Arcadiæ placent.
Adduxere sitim tempora, Virgili:
Sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
Si gestis, juvenum nobilium cliens, 15
Nardo vina mereberis.
Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,
Qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,
Spes donare novas largus, amaraque
Curarum eluere efficax; 20
Ad quæ si properas gaudia, cum tua
Velox merce veni: non ego te meis
Immunem meditor tinguere poculis,
Plena dives ut in domo.
Verum pone moras, et studium lucri; 25
Nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium,

Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem :
Dulce est desipere in loco.

ODE XIII. (M. XVII.)

AD LYCEN.

Audivere, Lyce, Dii mea vota ; Dii
Audivere, Lyce : fis anus, et tamen
Vis formosa videri ;
Ludisque, et bibis impudens,
Et cantu tremulo pota Cupidinem 5
Lentum solicitas ; ille virentis et
Doctæ psallere Chiæ
Pulchris excubat in genis.
Importunus enim transvolat aridas
Quercus, et refugit te, quia luridi 10
Dentes, te quia rugæ
Turpant et capitis nives.
Nec Coæ referunt jam tibi purpuræ,
Nec clari lapides, tempora, quæ semel
Notis condita fastis 15
Inclusit volucris dies.
Quo fugit Venus ? Heu ! quove color ? decens
Quo motus ? quid habes illius, illius,
Quæ spirabat amores,
Quæ me surpuerat mihi ? 20
Felix post Cinaram, notaque et artium
Gratarum facies : sed Cinaræ breves
Annos fata dederunt,
Servatura diu parem
Cornicis vetulæ temporibus Lycen ; 25
Possent ut juvenes visere fervidi,
Multo non sine risu,
Delapsam in cineres facem.

ODE XIV. (M. XIX.)

AD AUGUSTUM.

Quæ cura patrum, quæve Quiritium,
Plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
Auguste, virtutes in ævum
Per titulos memoresque fastos
Æternet? O qua sol habitabiles 5
Illustrat oras, maxime principum,
Quem legis expertes Latinæ
Vindelici didicere nuper
Quid Marte posses: milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus, 10
Breucosque veloces, et arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis
Dejecit acer plus vice simplici.
Major Neronum mox grave prœlium
Commisit, immanesque Rhætos 15
Auspiciis pepulit secundis;
Spectandus in certamine Martio,
Devota morti pectora liberæ
Quantis fatigaret ruinis:
Indomitas prope qualis undas 20
Exercet Auster, Pleïadum choro
Scindente nubes, impiger hostium
Vexare turmas, et frementem
Mittere equum medios per ignes.
Sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus, 25
Qui regna Dauni præfluit Appuli,
Cum sævit, horrendamque cultis
Diluviem meditatur agris:
Ut barbarorum Claudius agmina
Ferrata vasto diruit impetu; 30
Primosque et extremos metendo,
Stravit humum, sine clade victor,

Te copias, te consilium et tuos
Præbente Divos: nam tibi, quo die
  Portus Alexandrea supplex 35
    Et vacuam patefecit aulam,
Fortuna lustro prospera tertio
Belli secundos reddidit exitus,
  Laudemque et optatum peractis
    Imperiis decus arrogavit. 40
Te Cantaber non ante domabilis,
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
  Miratur, O tutela præsens
    Italiæ dominæque Romæ!
Te, fontium qui celat origines 45
Nilusque, et Ister, te rapidus Tigris,
  Te beluosus qui remotis
    Obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,
Te non paventis funera Galliæ,
Duræque tellus audit Iberiæ. 50
  Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri
    Compositis venerantur armis.

ODE XV. (M. XIX.)

AUGUSTI LAUDES.

PHŒBUS volentem prœlia me loqui
Victas et urbes increpuit lyra,
  Ne parva Tyrrhenum per æquor
    Vela darem. Tua, Cæsar, ætas
Fruges et agris rettulit uberes, 5
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi,
  Derepta Parthorum superbis
    Postibus, et vacuum duellis
Janum Quirini clausit, et ordinem
Rectum evaganti fræna licentiæ 10

Injecit, emovitque culpas,
Et veteres revocavit artes;
Per quas Latinum nomen et Italæ
Crevere vires, famaque, et imperî
Porrecta majestas ad ortum 15
Solis ab Hesperio cubili.
Custode rerum Cæsare, non furor
Civilis, aut vis exiget otium;
Non ira, quæ procudit enses,
Et miseras inimicat urbes. 20
Non, qui profundum Danubium bibunt,
Edicta rumpent Julia; non Getæ,
Non Seres infidive Persæ,
Non Tanain prope flumen orti.
Nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris, 25
Inter jocosi munera Liberi,
Cum prole matronisque nostris,
Rite Deos prius adprecati,
Virtute functos, more patrum, duces,
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis, 30
Trojamque et Anchisen et almæ
Progeniem Veneris canemus.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

EPISTOLARUM

LIBER SECUNDUS.

EPISTOLA I.

AD AUGUSTUM.

Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes; in publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Cæsar.
Romulus, et Liber pater, et cum Castore Pollux, 5
Post ingentia facta Deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt;
Ploravere suis non respondere favorem
Speratum meritis: diram qui contudit Hydram, 10
Notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.
Urit enim fulgore suo, qui prægravat artes
Infra se positas: extinctus amabitur idem.
Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores, 15
Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras,
Nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.
Sed tuus hoc populus sapiens et justus in uno,
Te nostris ducibus, te Graiis anteferendo,
Cætera nequaquam simili ratione modoque 20
Æstimat; et, nisi quæ terris semota suisque
Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit:
Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,
Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum
Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis, 25

Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum,
Dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.
Si, quia Græcorum sunt antiquissima quæque
Scripta vel optima, Romani pensatur eadem
Scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur: 30
Nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri.
Venimus ad summum fortunæ: pinguimus atque
Psallimus, et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
Si meliora dies, ut vina, poëmata reddit,
Scire velim, pretium chartis quotus arroget annus. 35
Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
Perfectos veteresque referri debet? an inter
Viles atque novos? excludat jurgia finis.
¶ Est vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.
¶ Quid, qui deperiit minor uno mense, vel anno, 40
Inter quos referendus erit? veteresne poëtas?
An quos et præsens et postera respuat ætas?
¶ Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste,
Qui vel mense brevi vel toto est junior anno.
¶ Utor permisso, caudæque pilos ut equinæ, 45
Paulatim vello, et demo unum, demo etiam unum;
Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi,
Qui redit ad fastos, et virtutem æstimat annis,
Miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.
Ennius, et sapiens et fortis, et alter Homerus, 50
Ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur,
Quo promissa cadant, et somnia Pythagorea.
Nævius in manibus non est, et mentibus hæret
Pene recens? adeo sanctum est vetus omne poëma.
Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, aufert 55
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti:
Dicitur Afranî toga convenisse Menandro;
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi;
Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.
Hos ediscit, et hos arcto stipata theatro 60
Spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poëtas

Ad nostrum tempus Livî scriptoris ab ævo.
Interdum vulgus rectum videt; est ubi peccat.
Si veteres ita miratur laudatque poëtas,
Ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat: 65
Si quædam nimis antique, si pleraque dure
Dicere cedit eos, ignave multa fatetur;
Et sapit, et mecum facit, et Jove judicat æquo.
Non equidem insector, delendave carmina Livî
Esse reor, memini quæ plagosum mihi parvo 70
Orbilium dictare; sed emendata videri,
Pulchraque, et exactis minimum distantia, miror.
Inter quæ verbum emicuit si forte decorum, et
Si versus paulo concinnior unus et alter,
Injuste totum ducit venditque poëma. 75
Indignor quidquam reprehendi, non quia crasse
Compositum illepideve putetur, sed quia nuper;
Nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem et præmia posci.
Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attæ
Fabula si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem 80
Cuncti pene patres; ea cum reprehendere coner
Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Roscius egit:
Vel quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducunt;
Vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, et quæ
Imberbi didicere, senes perdenda fateri. 85
Jam Saliare Numæ carmen qui laudat, et illud
Quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri;
Ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,
Nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.
Quod si tam Graiis novitas invisa fuisset 90
Quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus? aut quid haberet
Quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?
Ut primum positis nugari Græcia bellis
Cœpit, et in vitium fortuna labier æqua,
Nunc athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum; 95
Marmoris aut eboris fabros aut æris amavit;
Suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella;

Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragœdis:
Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
Quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit. 100
Quid placet aut odio est, quod non mutabile credas?
Hoc paces habuere bonæ, ventique secundi.
Romæ dulce diu fuit et solenne reclusa
Mane domo vigilare, clienti promere jura,
Cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos, 105
Majores audire, minori dicere per quæ
Crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.
Mutavit mentem populus levis, et calet uno
Scribendi studio: puerique patresque severi
Fronde comas vincti cœnant, et carmina dictant. 110
Ipse ego, qui nullos me affirmo scribere versus,
Invenior Parthis mendacior; et prius orto
Sole vigil, calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.
Navim agere ignarus navis timet; abrotonum ægro
Non audet nisi qui didicit, dare: quod medicorum est, 115
Promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri:
Scribimus indocti doctique poëmata passim.
Hic error tamen, et levis hæc insania quantas
Virtutes habeat, sic collige: vatis avarus
Non temere est animus; versus amat, hoc studet unum;
Detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet; 121
Non fraudem socio, puerove incogitat ullam
Pupillo; vivit siliquis et pane secundo.
Militiæ quanquam piger et malus, utilis urbi;
Si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna juvari. 125
Os tenerum pueri balbumque poëta figurat;
Torquet ab obscœnis jam nunc sermonibus aurem;
Mox etiam pectus præceptis format amicis
Asperitatis et invidiæ corrector et iræ;
Recte facta refert; orientia tempora notis 130
Instruit exemplis; inopem solatur et ægrum.
Castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
Disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?

Poscit opem chorus, et præsentia numina sentit;
Cœlestes implorat aquas docta prece blandus; 135
Avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit;
Impetrat et pacem, et locupletem frugibus annum.
Carmine Dii superi placantur, carmine Manes.
Agricolæ prisci, fortes, parvoque beati,
Condita post frumenta, levantes tempore festo 140
Corpus, et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, pueris, et conjuge fida,
Tellurem porco, Sylvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus et vino Genium, momorem brevis ævi.
Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem 145
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit;
Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
Lusit amabiliter, donec jam sævus apertam
In rabiem verti cœpit jocus, et per honestas
Ire domos impune minax: doluere cruento 150
Dente lacessiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
Conditione super communi: quin etiam lex
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quenquam
Describi: vertere modum, formidine fustis,
Ad benedicendum delectandumque redacti. 155
Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio: sic horridus ille
Defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
Munditiæ pepulere: sed in longum tamen ævum
Manserunt, hodieque manent vestigia ruris. 160
Serus enim Græcis admovit acumina chartis;
Et post Punica bella quietus, quærere cœpit
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Æschylus utile ferrent.
Tentavit quoque rem; si digne vertere posset;
Et placuit sibi, natura sublimis et acer: 165
Nam spirat tragicum satis, et feliciter audet;
Sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.
Creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
Sudoris minimum; sed habet Comœdia tanto

Plus oneris, quanto veniæ minus. Aspice Plautus 170
Quo pacto partes tutetur amantis ephebi;
Ut patris attenti; lenonis ut insidiosi:
Quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis;
Quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco.
Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc 175
Securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.
Quem tulit ad scenam ventoso Gloria curru,
Exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat,
Sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
Subruit ac reficit. Valeat res ludicra, si me 180
Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.
Sæpe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poëtam,
Quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,
Indocti stolidique, et depugnare parati,
Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt 185
Aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.
Verum equiti quoque jam migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.
Quattuor aut plures aulæa premuntur in horas,
Dum fugiunt equitum turmæ peditumque catervæ; 190
Mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis,
Esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves;
Captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.
Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus; seu
Diversum confusa genus panthera camelo; 195
Sive Elephas albus vulgi converteret ora:
Spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis,
Ut sibi præbentem mimo spectacula plura.
Scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
Fabellam surdo: nam quæ pervincere voces 200
Evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra?
Garganum mugire putes nemus, aut mare Tuscum:
Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, et artes,
Divitiæque peregrinæ; quibus oblitus actor
Cum stetit in scena, concurrit dextera lævæ. 205

Dixit adhuc aliquid? ¶ Nil sane. ¶ Quid placet ergo?
¶ Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.
Ac ne forte putes me, quæ facere ipse recusem,
Cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne;
Ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur 210
Ire poëta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet
Ut magus; et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.
Verum age, et his, qui se lectori credere malunt,
Quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi, 215
Curam redde brevem; si munus Apolline dignum
Vis complere libris, et vatibus addere calcar,
Ut studio majore petant Helicona virentem.
Multa quidem nobis facimus mala sæpe Poëtæ,
(Ut vineta egomet cædam mea,) cum tibi librum 220
Solicito damus, aut fesso; cum lædimur, unum
Siquis amicorum est ausus reprêndere versum;
Cum loca jam recitata revolvimus inrevocati;
Cum lamentamur, non apparere labores
Nostros, et tenui deducta poëmata filo; 225
Cum speramus eo rem venturam, ut simul atque
Carmina rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultro
Arcessas, et egere vetes, et scribere cogas.
Sed tamen est operæ pretium cognoscere, quales
Ædituos habeat belli spectata domique 230
Virtus, indigno non committenda poëtæ.
Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille
Chœrilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
Sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt 235
Atramenta, fere scriptores carmine fœdo
Splendida facta linunt. Idem rex ille, poëma
Qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit nequis se, præter Apellen,
Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret æra 240
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia. Quod si

Judicium subtile videndis artibus illud
Ad libros et ad hæc Musarum dona vocares,
Bœotûm in crasso jurares aere natum.
At neque dedecorant tua de se judicia, atque 245
Munera, quæ multa dantis cum laude tulerunt,
Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poëtæ:
Nec magis expressi vultus per ahenea signa,
Quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum
Clarorum apparent. Nec sermones ego mallem 250
Repentes per humum, quam res componere gestas;
Terrarumque situs, et flumina dicere, et arces
Montibus impositas, et barbara regna, tuisque
Auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,
Claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Janum, 255
Et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam;
Si, quantum cuperem, possem quoque: sed neque parvum
Carmen majestas recipit tua, nec meus audet
Rem tentare pudor, quam vires ferre recusent.
Sedulitas autem, stulte quem diligit, urguet 260
Præcipue cum se numeris commendat et arte:
Discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
Quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.
Nil moror officium quod me gravat: ac neque ficto
In pejus vultu proponi cereus usquam, 265
Nec prave factis decorari versibus opto:
Ne rubeam pingui donatus munere, et una
Cum scriptore meo capsa porrectus aperta,
Deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores,
Et piper, et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis. 270

EPISTOLA II.

AD JULIUM FLORUM.

Flore, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,
Siquis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum

Tibure vel Gabiis, et tecum sic agat; Hic et
Candidus, et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos,
Fiet eritque tuus nummorum millibus octo, 5
Verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus heriles,
Litterulis Græcis imbutus, idoneus arti
Cuilibet, argilla quidvis imitaberis uda:
Quin etiam canet indoctum, sed dulce bibenti.
Multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius æquo 10
Laudat venales, qui vult extrudere, merces.
Res urguet me nulla; meo sum pauper in ære:
Nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi: non temere a me
Quivis ferret idem; semel hic cessavit, et, ut fit,
In scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenæ. 15
Des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga lædit.
Ille ferat pretium, pœnæ securus, opinor.
¶ Prudens emisti vitiosum; dicta tibi est lex:
Insequeris tamen hunc, et lite moraris iniqua.
¶ Dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi 20
Talibus officiis prope mancum; ne mea sævus
Jurgares ad te quod epistola nulla veniret.
Quid tum profeci, mecum facientia jura
Si tamen attentas? Quereris super hoc etiam, quod
Exspectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax. 25
Luculli miles collecta viatica multis
Ærumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
Perdiderat: post hoc vehemens lupus, et sibi et hosti
Iratus pariter jejunis dentibus acer,
Præsidium regale loco dejecit, ut aiunt, 30
Summe munito, et multarum divite rerum.
Clarus ob id factum, donis ornatur honestis;
Accipit et bis dena super sestertia nummûm.
Forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere prætor
Nescio quod cupiens, hortari cœpit eundem 35
Verbis quæ timido quoque possent addere mentem.
I bone quo virtus tua te vocat; i pede fausto,
Grandia laturus meritorum præmia: quid stas?

Post hæc ille catus, quantumvis rusticus, Ibit,
Ibit eo quo vis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit. 40
Romæ nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri,
Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles:
Adjecere bonæ paulo plus artis Athenæ;
Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum. 45
Dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato;
Civilisque rudem belli tulit æstus in arma,
Cæsaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
Unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni 50
Et laris et fundi, paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem: sed, quod non desit, habentem
Quæ poterunt unquam satis expurgare cicutæ,
Ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?
Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes; 55
Eripuere jocos, venerem, convivia, ludum;
Tendunt extorquere poëmata: quid faciam vis?
Denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque:
Carmine tu gaudes; hic delectatur Iambis;
Ille Bioneis sermonibus, et sale nigro. 60
Tres mihi convivæ prope dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu, quod jubet alter;
Quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.
Præter cætera, me Romæne poëmata censes 65
Scribere posse, inter tot curas, totque labores?
Hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis
Omnibus officiis: cubat hic in colle Quirini,
Hic extremo in Aventino; visendus uterque;
Intervalla vides humane commoda. ¶ Verum 70
Puræ sunt plateæ, nihil ut meditantibus obstet.
Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemtor;
Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum;
Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris;

Hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus: 75
I nunc, et versus tecum meditare canoros.
Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, et fugit urbes
Rite cliens Bacchi, somno gaudentis et umbra:
Tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
Vis canere, et contracta sequi vestigia vatum? 80
Ingenium, sibi quod vacuas desumsit Athenas,
Et studiis annos septem dedit, insenuitque
Libris et curis, statua taciturnius exit
Plerumque, et risu populum quatit: hic ego rerum
Fluctibus in mediis, et tempestatibus urbis, 85
Verba lyræ motura sonum connectere digner?
Frater erat Romæ consulti rhetor, ut alter
Alterius sermone meros audiret honores;
Gracchus ut hic illi foret, huic ut Mucius ille.
Qui minus argutos vexat furor iste poëtas? 90
Carmina compono, hic elegos; mirabile visu
Cælatumque novem Musis opus. Aspice primum,
Quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
Spectemus vacuam Romanis vatibus ædem.
Mox etiam, si forte vacas, sequere, et procul audi 95
Quid ferat, et quare sibi nectat uterque coronam.
Cædimur, et totidem plagis consumimus hostem,
Lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
Discedo Alcæus puncto illius: ille meo quis?
Quis nisi Callimachus? si plus adposcere visus, 100
Fit Mimnermus, et optivo cognomine crescit.
Multa fero, ut placem genus irritabile vatum,
Cum scribo, et supplex populi suffragia capto:
Idem, finitis studiis, et mente recepta,
Obturem patulas impune legentibus aures. 105
Ridentur mala qui componunt carmina: verum
Gaudent scribentes, et se venerantur, et ultro,
Si taceas, laudant quidquid scripsere, beati.
At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poëma,
Cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti; 110

Audebit quæcunque parum splendoris habebunt,
Et sine pondere erunt, et honore indigna ferentur,
Verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant,
Et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestæ.
Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet, atque 115
Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
Nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas:
Adsciscet nova, quæ genitor produxerit usus.
Vehemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni, 120
Fundet opes, Latiumque beabit divite lingua.
Luxuriantia compescet, nimis aspera sano
Levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet:
Ludentis speciem dabit; et torquebitur, ut qui
Nunc satyrum, nunc agrestem cyclopa movetur. 125
¶ Prætulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere, et ringi. Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
Qui se credebat miros audire tragœdos,
In vacuo lætus sessor plausorque theatro; 130
Cætera qui vitæ servaret munia recto
More; bonus sane vicinus, amabilis hospes,
Comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis,
Et signo læso non insanire lagenæ,
Posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patentem. 135
Hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque refectus,
Expulit helleboro morbum, bilemque meraco,
Et redit ad sese; Pol, me occidistis amici,
Non servâstis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et demtus per vim mentis gratissimus error. 140
¶ Nimirum sapere est abjectis utile nugis,
Et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum;
Ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
Sed veræ numerosque modosque ediscere vitæ.
Quocirca mecum loquor hæc, tacitusque recordor; 145
Si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphæ,

Narrares medicis: quod quanto plura parâsti,
Tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?
Si vulnus tibi monstrata radice vel herba
Non fieret levius, fugeres, radice vel herba 150
Proficiente nihil, curarier. Audieras, cui
Rem dii donârint, illi decedere pravam
Stultitiam; et cum sis nihilo sapientior, ex quo
Plenior es; tamen uteris monitoribus iisdem?
At si divitiæ prudentem reddere possent, 155
Si cupidum timidumque minus te; nempe ruberes,
Viveret in terris te siquis avarior uno.
Si proprium est quod quis libra mercatus et ære est,
Quædam, si credis consultis, mancipat usus;
Qui te pascit ager, tuus est; et villicus Orbî, 160
Cum segetes occat, tibi mox frumenta daturas,
Te dominum sentit; das nummos, accipis uvam,
Pullos, ova, cadum temeti: nempe modo isto
Paulatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis,
Aut etiam supra, nummorum millibus emtum. 165
Quid refert, vivas numerato nuper an olim?
Emtor Aricini quondam Veientis et arvi
Emtum cœnat olus, quamvis aliter putat; emtis
Sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat ahenum;
Sed vocat usque suum, qua populus adsita certis 170
Limitibus vicina refugit jurgia; tanquam
Sit proprium quidquam, puncto quod mobilis horæ,
Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc sorte suprema,
Permutet dominos, et cedat in altera jura.
Sic quia perpetuus nulli datur usus, et hæres 175
Hæredem alterius, velut unda supervenit undam;
Quid vici profunt, aut horrea? quidve Calabris
Saltibus adjecti Lucani, si metit Orcus
Grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?
Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas, 180
Argentum, vestes Gætulo murice tinctas,
Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.

Cur alter fratrum cessare, et ludere, et ungui
Præferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus; alter,
Dives et importunus, et umbram lucis ab ortu 185
Silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum,
Scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
Naturæ Deus humanæ, mortalis in unum-
Quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus et ater.
Utar, et ex modico quantum res poscet acervo 190
Tollam; nec metuam quid de me judicet hæres;
Quod non plura datis invenerit; et tamen idem
Scire volam quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti
Discrepet, et quantum discordet parcus avaro.
Distat enim, spargas tua prodigus, an neque sumtum 195
Invitus facias, neque plura parare labores;
Ac potius, puer ut festis quinquatribus olim,
Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.
Pauperies immunda domu procul absit: ego, utrum
Nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem. 200
Non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo;
Non tamen adversis ætatem ducimus Austris;
Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,
Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.
Non es avarus: abi. Quid cætera? jam simul isto 205
Cum vitio fugere? caret tibi pectus inani
Ambitione? caret mortis formidine, et ira?
Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?
Natales grate numeras? ignoscis amicis? 210
Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?
Quid te exemta juvat spinis de pluribus una?
Vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti;
Tempus abire tibi est; ne potum largius æquo 215
Rideat et pulset lasciva decentius ætas.

Q. HORATII FLACCI

DE ARTE POETICA,

AD PISONES EPISTOLA.

HUMANO capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas,
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici? 5
Credite, Pisones, isti tabulæ fore librum
Persimilem, cujus, velut ægri somnia, vanæ
Fingentur species; ut nec pes, nec caput uni
Reddatur formæ. ¶ Pictoribus atque poëtis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas. 10
¶ Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim:
Sed non ut placidis coëant immitia; non ut
Serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni.
Inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis
Purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter 15
Assuitur pannus; cum lucus et ara Dianæ,
Et properantis aquæ per amœnos ambitus agros,
Aut flumen Rhenum, aut pluvius describitur arcus:
Sed nunc non erat his locus: et fortasse cupressum
Scis simulare; quid hoc, si fractis enatat exspes 20
Navibus, ære dato qui pingitur? amphora cœpit
Institui; currente rota cur urceus exit?
Denique sit quod vis, simplex duntaxat et unum.
Maxima pars vatum, pater et juvenes patre digni,
Decipimur specie recti: brevis esse laboro, 25
Obscurus fio: sectantem lenia nervi
Deficiunt animique: professus grandia turget:

Serpit humi tutus nimium ; timidusque procellæ.
Qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
Delphinum sylvis appingit, fluctibus aprum. 30
In vitium ducit culpæ fuga, si caret arte.
Æmilium circa ludum faber imus et ungues
Exprimet, et molles imitabitur ære capillos,
Infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum
Nesciet: hunc ego me, siquid componere curem, 35
Non magis esse velim, quam pravo vivere naso,
Spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo,
Sumite materiam vestris qui scribitis æquam
Viribus, et versate diu quid ferre recusent,
Quid valeant humeri : cui lecta potenter erit res, 40
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.
Ordinis hæc virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
Ut jam nunc dicat, jam nunc debentia dici
Pleraque differat, et præsens in tempus omittat.
In verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis: 45
Hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.
Dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
Reddiderit junctura novum. Si forte necesse est
Indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
Fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis 50
Continget ; dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter.
Et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Græco fonte cadant, parce detorta: quid autem
Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademtum
Virgilio Varioque ? ego cur, acquirere pauca 55
Si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Ennî
Sermonem patrium ditaverit, et nova rerum
Nomina protulerit ? Licuit, semperque licebit,
Signatum præsente nota procudere nomen.
Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos; 60
Prima cadunt: ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et juvenum ritu florent modo nata, vigentque.
Debemur morti nos nostraque ; sive receptus

Terra Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet,
Regis opus; sterilisque diu palus, aptaque remis, 65
Vicinas urbes alit, et grave sentit aratrum;
Seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis,
Doctus iter melius: mortalia facta peribunt;
Nedum sermonum stet honos, et gratia vivax.
Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque 70
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi.
Res gestæ regumque ducumque, et tristia bella,
Quo scribi possent numero, monstravit Homerus.
Versibus impariter junctis querimonia primum, 75
Post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos:
Quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
Grammatici certant, et adhuc sub judice lis est.
Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo:
Hunc socci cepere pedem, grandesque cothurni, 80
Alternis aptum sermonibus, et populares
Vincentem strepitus, et natum rebus agendis.
Musa dedit fidibus Divos, puerosque Deorum,
Et pugilem victorem, et equum certamine primum,
Et juvenum curas, et libera vina referre. 85
Descriptas servare vices operumque colores
Cur ego si nequeo ignoroque, Poëta salutor?
Cur nescire, pudens prave, quam discere malo?
Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult:
Indignatur item privatis, ac prope socco 90
Dignis carminibus narrari cœna Thyestæ.
Singula quæque locum teneant sortita decenter.
Interdum tamen et vocem comœdia tollit,
Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore:
Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri. 95
Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul, uterque
Projicit ampullas, et sesquipedalia verba,
Si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querela.
Non satis est pulchra esse poëmata; dulcia sunto,

Et quocunque volent, animum auditoris agunto. 100
Ut ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adsunt
Humani vultus: si vis me flere, dolendum est
Primum ipsi tibi; tunc tua me infortunia lædent.
Telephe, vel Peleu, male si mandata loqueris,
Aut dormitabo, aut ridebo: tristia mœstum 105
Vultum verba decent; iratum, plena minarum;
Ludentem, lasciva; severum, seria dictu.
Format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem
Fortunarum habitum; juvat, aut impellit ad iram,
Aut ad humum mœrore gravi deducit, et angit; 110
Post effert animi motus interprete lingua.
Si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta,
Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.
Intererit multum Davusne loquatur, an Heros;
Maturusne senex, an adhuc florente juventa 115
Fervidus; et matrona potens, an sedula nutrix;
Mercatorne vagus, cultorne virentis agelli;
Colchus, an Assyrius; Thebis nutritus, an Argis.
Aut famam sequere, aut sibi convenientia finge,
Scriptor. Honoratum si forte reponis Achillem; 120
Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis:
Sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
Perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.
Siquid inexpertum scenæ committis, et audes 125
Personam formare novam, servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet
Difficile est proprie communia dicere: tuque
Rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
Quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus. 130
Publica materies privati juris erit, si
Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem:
Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres; nec desilies imitator in arctum,
Unde pedem proferre pudor vetet, aut operis lex. 135

Nec sic incipies, ut scriptor cyclicus olim;
"Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum."
Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
Quanto rectius hic, qui nil molitur inepte: 140
"Dic mihi, Musa, virum, captæ post tempora Trojæ,
"Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes."
Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,
Antiphaten, Scyllamque, et cum Cyclope Charybdin; 145
Nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
Nec gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo.
Semper ad eventum festinat, et in medias res,
Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit, et quæ
Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit; 150
Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.
Tu, quid ego, et populus mecum desideret, audi.
Si plausoris eges aulæa manentis, et usque
Sessuri donec cantor, Vos plaudite, dicat, 155
Ætatis cujusque notandi sunt tibi mores;
Mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.
Reddere qui voces jam scit puer, et pede certo
Signat humum, gestit paribus colludere, et iram
Colligit ac ponit temere, et mutatur in horas. 160
Imberbus juvenis, tandem custode remoto,
Gaudet equis canibusque, et aprici gramine campi;
Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,
Utilium tardus provisor, prodigus æris,
Sublimis, cupidusque, et amata relinquere pernix. 165
Conversis studiis, ætas animusque virilis
Quærit opes et amicitias, inservit honori,
Commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret.
Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda; vel quod
Quærit, et inventis miser abstinet, ac timet uti; 170
Vel quod res omnes timide gelideque ministrat,

Dilator, spe longus, iners, avidusque futuri,
Difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
Se puero, censor castigatorque minorum.
Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum, 175
Multa recedentes adimunt. Ne forte seniles
Mandentur juveni partes, pueroque viriles,
Semper in adjunctis ævoque morabimur aptis.
Aut agitur res in scenis, aut acta refertur.
Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem, 180
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, et quæ
Ipse sibi tradit spectator. Non tamen intus
Digna geri, promes in scenam: multaque tolles
Ex oculis, quæ mox narret facundia præsens.
Nec pueros coram populo Medea trucidet, 185
Aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
Aut in avem Progne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem;
Quodcunque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.
Neve minor, neu sit quinto productior actu
Fabula, quæ posci vult, et spectata reponi: 190
Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit: nec quarta loqui persona laboret.
Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile
Defendat; neu quid medios intercinat actus,
Quod non proposito conducat et hæreat apte: 195
Ille bonis faveatque et consilietur amice;
Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes:
Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis: ille salubrem
Justitiam, legesque, et apertis otia portis:
Ille tegat commissa; Deosque precetur et oret, 200
Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.
Tibia non, ut nunc orichalco vincta, tubæque
Æmula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco
Aspirare, et adesse choris erat utilis, atque
Nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu; 205
Quo sane populus numerabilis, utpote parvus,
Et frugi, castusque verecundusque coibat.

Postquam cœpit agros extendere victor, et urbem
Latior amplecti murus, vinoque diurno
Placari Genius festis impune diebus, 210
Accessit numerisque modisque licentia major.
Indoctus quid enim saperet, liberque laborum,
Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto:
Sic priscæ motumque et luxuriem addidit arti
Tibicen, traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem: 215
Sic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis,
Et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia præceps;
Utiliumque sagax rerum, et divina futuri,
Sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.
Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum, 220
Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, et asper
Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat et grata novitate morandus
Spectator, functusque sacris, et potus, et exlex.
Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces 225
Conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo;
Ne quicunque Deus, quicunque adhibebitur heros,
Regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
Migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas;
Aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet. 230
Effutire leves indigna tragœdia versus;
Ut festis matrona moveri jussa diebus,
Intererit Satyris paulum pudibunda protervis.
Non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum,
Verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo; 235
Nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,
Ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur, et audax
Pythias, emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
An custos famulusque Dei Silenus alumni.
Ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis 240
Speret idem; sudet multum, frustraque laboret
Ausus idem: tantum series juncturaque pollet;
Tantum de medio sumtis accedit honoris.

Silvis deducti caveant, me judice, Fauni,
Ne, velut innati triviis ac pene forenses, 245
Aut nimium teneris juvenentur versibus unquam;
Aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta:
Offenduntur enim quibus est equus, et pater, et res;
Nec, siquid fricti ciceris probat, et nucis emtor,
Æquis accipiunt animis, donantve corona. 250
Syllaba longa brevi subjecta vocatur Iambus;
Pes citus; unde etiam trimetris accrescere jussit
Nomen Iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus,
Primus ad extremum similis sibi: non ita pridem,
Tardior ut paulo graviorque veniret ad aures, 255
Spondeos stabiles in jura paterna recepit
Commodus et patiens; non ut de sede secunda
Cederet aut quarta socialiter: hic et in Accî
Nobilibus Trimetris apparet rarus, et Ennî.
In scenam missos magno cum pondere versus, 260
Aut operæ celeris nimium curaque carentis,
Aut ignoratæ premit artis crimine turpi.
Non quivis videt immodulata poëmata judex;
Et data Romanis venia est indigna poëtis.
Idcircone vager, scribamque licenter? Ut omnes 265
Visuros peccata putem mea, tutus, et intra
Spem veniæ cautus; vitavi denique culpam,
Non laudem merui. Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.
At vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros, et 270
Laudavere sales; nimium patienter utrumque,
Ne dicam stulte, mirati; si modo ego et vos
Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,
Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camœnæ 275
Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis,
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.
Post hunc personæ, pallæque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis,

Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. 280
Successit vetus his Comœdia, non sine multa
Laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit, et vim
Dignam lege regi: lex est accepta, chorusque
Turpiter obticuit, sublato jure nocendi.
Nil intentatum nostri liquere Poëtæ: 285
Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca
Ausi deserere, et celebrare domestica facta;
Vel qui prætextas, vel qui docuere togatas.
Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis,
Quam lingua, Latium, si non offenderet unum- 290
Quemque Poëtarum limæ labor et mora. Vos, O
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite quod non
Multa dies et multa litura coërcuit, atque
Præsectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.
Ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte 295
Credit, et excludit sanos Helicone poëtas
Democritus, bona pars non ungues ponere curat,
Non barbam, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.
Nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poëtæ,
Si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile nunquam 300
Tonsori Licino commiserit. O ego lævus,
Qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam!
Non alius faceret meliora poëmata; verum
Nil tanti est; ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi: 305
Munus et officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo;
Unde parentur opes; quid alat formetque poëtam;
Quid deceat, quid non; quo virtus, quo ferat error.
Scribendi recte, sapere est et principium et fons:
Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ: 310
Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
Qui didicit patriæ quid debeat, et quid amicis,
Quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes,
Quod sit conscripti, quod judicis officium, quæ
Partes in bellum missi ducis, ille profecto 315

Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique.
Respicere exemplar vitæ morumque jubebo
Doctum imitatorem, et veras hinc ducere voces.
Interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
Fabula, nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte, 320
Valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur,
Quam versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ.
Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, præter laudem nullius avaris:
Romani pueri longis rationibus assem 325
Discunt in partes centum diducere. ¶ Dicat
Filius Albini, Si de quincunce remota est
Uncia, quid superat? ¶ Poteras dixisse, Triens. ¶ Eu?
Rem poteris servare tuam. Redit uncia, quid fit?
¶ Semis. ¶ An, hæc animos ærugo et cura peculì 330
Cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
Posse linenda cedro, et levi servanda cupresso?
Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poëtæ,
Aut simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitæ.
Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis; ut cito dicta 335
Percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles:
Omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
Ficta voluptatis causa, sint proxima veris;
Ne, quodcunque volet, poscat sibi fabula credi,
Neu pransæ Lamiæ vivum puerum extrahat alvo. 340
Centuriæ seniorum agitant expertia frugis;
Celsi prætereunt austera poëmata Rhamnes:
Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo.
Hic meret æra liber Sosiis; hic et mare transit, 345
Et longum noto scriptori prorogat ævum.
Sunt delicta tamen quibus ignovisse velimus:
Nam neque chorda sonum reddit quem vult manus et mens,
Poscentique gravem persæpe remittit acutum;
Nec semper feriet quodcunque minabitur arcus. 350
Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis

Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura. Quid ergo est?
Ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque,
Quamvis est monitus, venia caret; et citharœdus 355
Ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem:
Sic mihi, qui multum cessat, fit Chœrilus ille,
Quem bis terque bonum, cum risu miror; et idem
Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus?
Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum. 360
Ut pictura, poësis: erit quæ, si propius stes
Te capiat magis, et quædam, si longius abstes.
Hæc amat obscurum, volet hæc sub luce videri,
Judicis argutum quæ non formidat acumen:
Hæc placuit semel, hæc decies repetita placebit, 365
O major juvenum, quamvis et voce paterna
Fingeris ad rectum, et per te sapis, hoc tibi dictum
Tolle memor; certis medium et tolerabile rebus
Recte concedi: consultus juris et actor
Causarum mediocris abest virtute diserti 370
Messalæ, nec scit quantum Cascellius Aulus;
Sed tamen in pretio est; mediocribus esse poëtis
Non homines, non Dii, non concessere columnæ.
Ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors
Et crassum unguentum, et Sardo cum melle papaver 375
Offendunt; poterat duci quia cœna sine istis:
Sic animis natum inventumque poëma juvandis,
Si paulum a summo decessit, vergit ad imum.
Ludere qui nescit campestribus abstinet armis,
Indoctusque pilæ discive trochive quiescit, 380
Ne spissæ risum tollant impune coronæ:
Qui nescit, versus tamen audet fingere! ¶ Quid ni?
Liber et ingenuus, præsertim census equestrem
Summam nummorum, vitioque remotus ab omni.
¶ Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva; 385
Id tibi judicium est, ea mens: siquid tamen olim
Scripseris, in Mæcî descendat judicis aures,

Et patris, et nostras, nonumque prematur in annum,
Membranis intus positis. Delere licebit,
Quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti. 390
Silvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum
Cædibus et victu fœdo deterruit Orpheus;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres, rabidosque leones:
Dictus et Amphion Thebanæ conditor arcis
Saxa movere sono testudinis, et prece blanda 395
Ducere quo vellet: fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,
Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis,
Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno:
Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque 400
Carminibus venit. Post hos insignis Homerus,
Tyrtæusque mares animos in Martia bella
Versibus exacuit; dictæ per carmina sortes;
Et vitæ monstrata via est; et gratia regum
Pieriis tentata modis: ludusque repertus, 405
Et longorum operum finis: ne forte pudori
Sit tibi Musa lyræ solers, et cantor Apollo.
Natura fieret laudabile carmen, an arte,
Quæsitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena;
Nec rude quid possit video ingenium: alterius sic 410
Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amice.
Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fecitque puer; sudavit et alsit;
Abstinuit venere et vino: qui Pythia cantat
Tibicen, didicit prius extimuitque magistrum. 415
Nec satis est dixisse, " Ego mira poëmata pango:
" Occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est,
" Et, quod non didici, sane nescire fateri".
Ut præco ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
Assentatores jubet ad lucrum ire poëta 420
Dives agris, dives positis in fœnore nummis.
Si vero est, unctum qui recte ponere possit,
Et spondere levi pro paupere, et eripere atris

Litibus implicitum, mirabor si sciet inter-
Noscere mendacem verumque beatus amicum. 425
Tu seu donâris, seu quid donare voles cui,
Nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum
Lætitiæ; clamabit enim, *Pulchre! bene! recte!*
Pallescet; super his etiam stillabit amicis
Ex oculis rorem; saliet, tundet pedė terram. 430
Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt
Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo; sic
Derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.
Reges dicuntur multis urguere culullis,
Et torquere mero, quem perspexisse laborent 435
An sit amicitia dignus: si carmina condes,
Nunquam te fallant animi sub vulpe latentes.
Quintilio siquid recitares, Corrige sodes
Hoc, aiebat, et hoc: melius te posse negares,
Bis terque expertum frustra, delere jubebat, 440
Et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.
Si defendere delictum quam vertere malles,
Nullum ultra verbum aut operam sumebat inanem;
Quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.
Vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertes, 445
Culpabit duros, incomtis allinet atrum
Transverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
Ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
Arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit;
Fiet Aristarchus; non dicet, Cur ego amicum 450
Offendam in nugis? Hæ nugæ seria ducent
In mala derisum semel exceptumque sinistre.
Ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urguet,
Aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana,
Vesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poëtam 455
Qui sapiunt; agitant pueri, incautique sequuntur.
Hic, dum sublimis versus ructatur et errat,
Si veluti merulis intentus decidit auceps
In puteum foveamve, licet Succurrite, longum

Clamet, Io cives! non sit qui tollere curet: 460
Si curet quis opem ferre, et demittere funem,
Quî scis an prudens huc se dejecerit, atque
Servari nolit? dicam, Siculique poëtæ
Narrabo interitum: Deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Ætnam 465
Insiluit; sit jus liceatque perire poëtis:
Invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti:
Nec semel hoc fecit: nec, si retractus erit, jam
Fiet homo, et ponet famosæ mortis amorem.
Nec satis apparet cur versus factitet; utrum 470
Minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
Moverit incestus; certe furit, ac velut ursus
Objectos caveæ valuit si frangere clathros,
Indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus:
Quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo, 475
Non missura cutem, nisi plena cruoris, hirudo.

ERRATA.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION, ETC.

Page (7), line 30, *for* 8vo *read* 4to
(27), line 8, *for* translation *read* transition
(30), lines 26, 7, *dele* "*in sacrificia*"
(32), line 2, *for* (10th) *read* (12th)
(74), last line, *read* a comma at *next*,

TEXT.

1 S. IV., line 69, *for* Cœli Birrique *read* Cœli Birrique
80, *for* jacis: *read* jacis?
2 S. II., line 34, *read* a full point at *est*.
2 S. III., line 166, *for* Naviger *read* Naviget
2 S. VIII., line 86, *for* puei *read* pueri
3 C. IV., line 4, *for* Sue *read* Seu
3 C. XXVI., line 9, *for* beatum *read* beatam
1 E. VI., line 2, *read* a full point at *beatum*.
27, *for* comma, *read* a full point at Ancus
60, *for* et *read* ut
2 E. II., line 151, *for* curarier? *read* curarier.
Ad Pis., line 65, *for* diu palus *read* palus prius [*with Bentley*]

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